ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF ANDHRA PRADESH

P.R. RAO

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This book gives a chronological account of the history and culture of Andhra Pradesh from the earliest times till the advent of the East India Company into our country. Though there are many learned monographs on different dynasties of Ancient and Medieval Andhra, there is no book in English giving a connected account of these periods of history. The present work is intended to fill this gap in Andhra historiography. It is based on monographs in Telugu and English dealing with different facets of Ancient and Medieval Andhra History.

The work, though designed as a textbook to meet the requirements of candidates preparing for B.A. and M.A. degree and competitive examinations, would be quite useful to the general reader interested in historical studies.

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P. RAGHUNADHA RAO

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Preface

In recent years many learned monographs have been published throwing new light on different dynasties that ruled over Andhra. But there is no book in English covering in one volume the entire history of Andhra from the establishment of the Satavahana dynasty in C.211 B.C. to the Asaf Jahi dynasty in A.D. 1724. The present volume is written to fill in this gap and to meet the requirements of the B.A. and M.A. students of different universities of Andhra Pradesh who have offered Ancient and Medieval History of Andhra as one of their subjects of study. I hope the book will also meet the requirements of the candidates preparing for the competitive examinations and of the general readers interested in the subject.

It is with pleasure that I record my thanks to Shri S.K. Ghai, Chairman-cum-Managing Director, Sterling Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, for the neat printing and prompt publication of the book.

P. RAGHUNADHA RAO

INTRODUCTION

Origin of Andhras

The Andhras are an ancient race who have played an illustrious role in the political and cultural development of India. They were referred to in the *Aitereya Brahmana,* a part of the Rig Veda, the oldest of the Vedas which belongs to c.1200 - c.1000 B.C. According to it, the Andhras were a North Indian tribe expelled from the Aryan fold as they deviated from its culture and adopted the ways of the non-Aryan tribes. They were equated with non-Aryan tribes like Pulindas, Pundras and Sabaras.

There are interesting stories regarding their ex-communication from the Aryan fold. It is said that they incurred the displeasure of their sire, Viswamitra, when they refused to accept the adoption of Sunahsepha by the sage. As a result, Viswamitra, noted for his quick temper, cursed that his progeny would leave Aryavarta and go into exile towards the *Vindhyas* and the south. Another version is that the Andhras incurred the displeasure of the sage as they protested against human sacrifice. The Andhras are also mentioned in the epic *Mahabharata, Manu Smruti* and Bharata's *Natya Sastra*. Andhra was one of the kingdoms conquered by Sahadeva in connection with the Rajasuya ceremony of Yudhistira. In the Mahabharata war, the Andhras fought on the side of the Kauravas.

Some scholars do not accept the North Indian origin of the Andhras. According to them, the Andhras are Telugus, a South Indian Dravidian tribe who migrated towards the north-north-west (Maharashtra) and north-east (Magadha or Bihar), but were forced to return to their original country. The theory fails to explain how and when the appelation Andhra was acquired by the Telugus.

Besides the above theories, there is a third hypothesis that the Andhras were a North Indian non-Aryan tribe which had assimilated

Aryan culture. It was expelled from the north as it incurred the displeasure of the Aryans.

Andhra Basha, Telugu and Tenugu

The language of the Andhras is variously known as Andhra Basha, Telugu and Tenugu. These appelations are used synonymously. There are various conjectures about the derivation of these terms. Regarding the term Andhra there is a tradition which says that in the ancient times *there* was a king by name Agnimitra who lost his eyesight. He prayed to the Sun God to restore him his vision.

Surya, pleased with the prayer, restored the vision of Agnimitra and also taught him a new language. The language learnt by the Andha or blind man came to be known as Andhra Basha. Another derivation of the term is that it means a dark region, since, for the people of Aryavarta, the trans-Vindhyan region covered by thick forests is a dark region. Hence the people of that region and their language came to be known as Andhras and Andhra Basha respectively.

Telugu is said to be derived from Trilinga, the country between three lingams, namely, Draksarama (East Godavari), Bhimakalesa or Kaleswaram (Karimnagar) and Srisailam (Kurnool). The derivation of Tenugu is Tene+agu, sweet like honey. Another derivation is Ten+nudugu, i.e., language of the south. Whatever may have been the real derivation, these three terms—Andhra Basha, Telugu and Tenugu—have been used for centuries to refer to the main language spoken by the inhabitants of Andhra Pradesh. But it must be noted that Telugu was unknown before the sixth century A.D.

However, nothing is known about the language spoken by the early Andhras as *Aitereya Brahmana* gives no indication about it. At a later stage when they settled down in the region around the Vindhyas they spoke Paisachi, a Prakritic language. This fact shows that the Andhras did not forget their Aryan affiliation. Gradually, the Andhras merged with the more numerous local people and absorbed many elements of their languages and customs. In the course of many centuries, the present day Telugu evolved. There are two schools of thought with respect to the affiliation of Telugu. One is the Dravidian School and the other is the Sanskrit school. The philologists of the first school include Bishop Caldwell, Vajjala China Sitarama Sastri

and Ganti Jogi Somayaji. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages,* Vajjala's *Vaiyakarana Parijatamu* and Somayaji's *Andhra Basha Vikasamu* champion the Dravidian theory. The exponents of the Sanskrit theory include Chilakuru Narayana Rao, the author of *History of Telugu Language.*

Early History

Very little is known about the early history of the Andhras. The Puranas and the early Buddhist texts allude to the Andhra while describing the various tribes of India and their ruling dynasties. But they make no mention of any Andhra king who ruled before the establishment of the Satavahana dynasty. Some historians presume that in the pre-Mauryan age, the Andhras were a self-governing republican community. They, however, lost their independence and came under the control of the Mauryan ruler Chandragupta. According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta migrated to Mysore towards the end of his life. The Buddhist tradition recorded by the Tibetan historian Taranatha attributes the conquest of the Deccan and the South to Bindusara, the son of Chandragupta Maurya.

From these sources we can presume that Andhra was conquered by the Mauryans before the accession of Asoka, since he had conquered only one kingdom, that is, Kalinga. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in the Court of Chandragupta Maurya, makes an interesting reference to the Andhras in his book *Indica*. According to him the Andhras were independent and militarily very strong. They had thirty forts, one lakh infantry, 2,000 horses and 1,000 elephants.

One of the edicts of Asoka is at Yerragudi in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. From this, it is evident that Andhra formed a part of the Mauryan empire. After the death of Asoka, the Mauryan empire declined rapidly. Taking advantage of the confusion in North India, the Andhras asserted their independence under the Satavahana dynasty.

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The Naneghat Inscription of Naganika : One of the inscriptions in the caves of Naneghat was inscribed by Naganika, the wife of Satakarni I (180 - 170 B.C.) after the death of her husband. From the inscription it is evident that Satakarni conquered Western Malwa, Anupa on the Narmada valley and Vidharbha. The inscription also states that Satakarni performed the Aswamedha sacrifices and one Rajasuya sacrifice in commemoration of the victories and proclaimed himself Samrat and assumed the title of 'Dakshinapathi' and 'Aprathi hatah chakra'.

The Hathigumpha and Guntapalli Inscriptions: The Hathigumpha and Guntupalli inscriptions of King Kharavela of Kalinga state that the army of the Kalinga ruler reached Kannabenna (River Krishna) and threatened Mushikanagara. The inscription thus records the conflict between Satakarni I and Kharavela for the possession of the Godavari and Krishna river basins but does not claim any success for the latter.

Nashik Inscriptions: The Nashik inscription of Gautami Balasri lists out the countries conquered by her son Gautamiputra Satakarni (A.D. 78-102). The Satavahana inscriptions in Andhra belong to the time of Pulomavi and his successors. All the Satavahana inscriptions are in the Prakrit language and Brahmi script.

Coins

The Satavahanas struck coins in metals like copper, lead and tin. Only one ruler issued coins in silver. Coins found at a number of places in the Deccan throw a flood of light on the Satavahana history. Excavations carried out at places like Kondapur in Medak district and Peddabankur, Dhulikatta and Kotilingala in Karimnagar district yielded a large quantity of coins. The outstanding discovery was the coins relating to Simukha, the founder of the Satavahana dynasty. The coins have the legend 'Siri Chimukha Sata' at the top. Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry identified Chimukha of these coins with Simukha, the founder of the Puranic list of the Satavahana dynasty. The coins found at Peddabankur include punch marked silver, Roman Denare and of the various Satavahana rulers. Excavations conducted at Dhulikatta or Dhulikota (mud fort) ten kilometres west of Peddabankur brought to light the traces of the walled town of the Satavahana period. V.V. Krishna Sastry believes it to be one of the thirty fortified towns of Andhra mentioned by Megasthenes. The discovery of the coins of Simukha at Kotilingala strengthens the claim of Telengana

as the original home of the Satavahanas.

At Paithan (Aurangabad district, Maharashtra) or Pratisthanapura, the ancient capital city of the Satavahanas, unique coins containing the portrait of king Satakarni, and also Gajalakshmi type lead coins of the same king are found. A silver coin said to be a joint issue of Satakarni and Naganika was *published.* But its authenticity is questioned by Dr. Ajay Mitra Sastri of Nagpur University. However Gautamiputra Satakarni restruck the silver coinage of Nahapana, the Saka king and also attempted to issue his own silver coinage, but his successors discontinued the practice.

The coinage of the Satavahanas has attracted the attention of historians like E.J. Rapson, Parabrahma Sastri, Krishna Sastri and Ajay Mitra Sastri. Rapson's catalogue of Andhra coins is a scholarly publication. *Coinage of the Satavahanas and Coins from Excavations* edited by Ajay Mitra Sastri is another noteworthy study of Satavahana coins.

Literature

Reference to the Satavahanas are found in some of the ancient literary works. According to the *Matsya* and *Vayu Puranas*, the last Kanva king Susraman was killed by the Andhra king Simukha. The *Puranas* also contain the list of Andhra or Satavahana kings and their regnal years. But the Puranic lists are of doubtful value as they are inconsistent and inadequate. The *Katha Saritsagara* based on *Brihat Katha* of Gunadya gives information about the Satavahana society. *Gargi Samhita Saptasati,* an anthology of verses compiled by Hala, a Satavahana ruler, *Kamasutra* of Vatsayana help us to know the society and religion of the Satavahana period. *Lilavati* , a Prakrit work of Kutuhala tells the love story of Hala and Lilavati, a princes from Sri Lanka. The background of the main scene was Sapta-Godavari Bhima identified with Bhimeswara temple of Draksharam in East Godavari district. The Buddhist works like the *Jatakas,* the *Pitakas,* the *Mahavastu* and the *Katharvastu* also contain references to the Andhras. In the Jain literature there are references to Pratistana as the capital of the early Satavahana kings.

Among the foreign works, the *Indica* of Megesthenes makes a mention of the Andhras and their military might. Similarly the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* by an unknown Greek author gives an account of the Andhra region and makes a mention of Masalia (Machilipatnam). This has been identified with Maisolia, the greatest market of the Andhra kingdom, mentioned by Ptolemy.

The Andhra-Satavahana Controversy

There has been a controversy for the last one hundred years over the identity of the Satavahanas. One group of historians, which include Vincent Smith, E.J. Rapson, L.D. Barnett, R.G. Bhandarkar, Maremanda Rama Rao and Gurty Venkata Rao, support the view that the Satavahanas were Andhras. This view was opposed by another group of historians like P.T. Srinivasa Iyyangar, V.S. Sukthankar, H.C. Rayachaudhari, V.V. Mirashi who regard the Satavahanas as Maharashtrians.

Those who opposed the Andhra origin of the Satavahanas based their arguments on the following grounds:

1. The Andhras of the present day occupy the Eastern Deccan while the Satavahana rule commenced in the Western Deccan or Maharashtra. Further, the early capital of Satavahanas was Prathisthana or Modern Paithan in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra.
2. The earliest Satavahana records like the Naneghat inscription of Naganika and the Nashik inscription of Gautami Balasri are in Maharashtra. No epigraphical record of the early Satavahana rulers is found in Andhra. Only with the reign of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi do Satavahana records begin to appear in Andhra. Further, in none of the inscriptions do the Satavahanas call them Andhras.
3. The language used in the Satavahana inscriptions and coins is Prakrit while Telugu is the language of the Andhras.
4. The *Puranas* which listed thirty rulers call them Andhras or Andhrabrithyas and not Satavahanas.
5. The Satavahanas are popularly referred to as Andhras since the later Satavahana kings who lost their original home in the western Deccan confined their rule to the Eastern Deccan or Andhra Desa.
6. Further, the use of metronymics by the Satavahana rulers show their Maharashtra origin.

Though the above arguments appear to be strong they do not stand up to historical scrutiny. It is true that the Andhras of the present day occupy Eastern Deccan, but the Satavahana empire was not confined to the Western Deccan alone, it included the Eastern Deccan and other areas also. After the death of Asoka, the Andhras who were second only to the Mauryans in power and glory extended their authority as far as Nashik in the west. At the same time, the Greeks and other foreign tribes invaded Aryavarta and threatened the political stability of the Dakshinapatha. So the Satavahanas, in order to resist the likely foreign incursions from the north, made Prathisthana their capital, since that city was strategically located on the highway that connected the Dakshinapatha with the north.

Further, it controlled the passes in the north that connected the mainland of the Deccan with the west coast. The association of the Satavahanas with Prathisthana was shortlived. Only the early rulers stayed there. The capital was shifted to the Eastern Deccan or the Andhra region once the danger of foreign invasion was removed.

The second argument—that the early records of the Satavahanas have been discovered in Maharashtra alone—no longer holds good. Only two inscriptions (Naneghat and Nashik) and a few coins of doubtful authenticity were discovered in Maharashtra. But recent excavations in Telangana districts of Andhra Pradesh resulted in the discovery of a large number of Satavahana coins and seals. At Kotilingala several coins of Simukha, the founder of the Satavahana dynasty, and those of other early kings like Kanha (Krishna) and Satakarni I were found. Similarly at Kondapur, Peddabankur, Dhulikatta several seals, coins, terracotta objects were discovered testifying to the fact that the region was an active centre of Satavahana trade and commerce. The fact that the coins of Simukha, the founder of the Satavahana dynasty and those of the early kings found in Dhulikatta in Karimnagar district is a positive proof that Telangana was the nucleus of the Satavahana empire. Further, the description of Satakarni as Dakshinapatha pathi in the Naneghat inscription proves that the Satavahana dominion was not confined to Western Deccan alone but included other areas of the Deccan and beyond.

The argument that the Satavahanas did not call themselves Andhras is ridiculous. The ruling dynasty refers to itself by the dynastic name or the name of the gotra and not by the name of the people. The Ishvakus, Vishnukundins and Kakatiyas who ruled over Andhra after the disintegration of the Satavahana empire also did not call themselves Andhras.

The third argument that the Satavahanas used Prakrit and not Telugu in their records is not valid for the simple reason that Telugu in its present form developed around the sixth century A.D. The Satavahanas used Prakrit in their records since it was the official language of the ruling dynasties since the time of Asoka until about the 3rd century A.D. Even the three early Pallava copper plate grants are in Prakrit. When Sanskrit regained its pre-eminence under the Guptas, inscriptions were issued in that language.

The fourth argument—that the list of the kings in the Puranas are referred to as Andhras or Andhra Brithyas (Servants of Andhras) and not Satavahanas—actually supports the theory that the Satavahanas were Andhras. The names of Andhra kings mentioned in the Puranas are more or less similar to the names that can be derived from the Satavahana

inscriptions and coins. The common names in both the sources include Simukha, Kanha (Krishna), Satakarni I, Satakarni II, Apilaka, Meghasvati, Gautamiputra, Pulomavi II and III, Sivasri, Chandrasri. There could not have been so many similar names if the kings belonged to different families. The fact is that the *Puranas* refer to the Satavahana kings by the name of their race as Andhras, whereas the inscriptions and coins highlight the dynastic name—the Satavahanas. Moreover since the Puranic accounts are based on the court records and the oral history of the time, they cannot make a fundamental mistake regarding the racial origin of the ruling family.

The fifth argument—that the Satavahanas are popularly regarded as Andhras because the later kings of the dynasty stayed in Andhradesa after they lost Western Deccan—actually strengthens the case that the Satavahanas were Andhras.

The last argument regarding the use of metronymics by the Satavahanas does not strengthen the case of Maharashtra, since Gautamiputra Satakarni, the 23rd king of the dynasty, and his successors who gradually lost control over the Western Deccan and confined themselves to Andhra started this practice.

Original Home of the Satavahanas

There is yet another controversy. Scholars do not agree about the original home of the Satavahanas. Vincent Smith was of the opinion that the delta basins of the Godavari and Krishna rivers were the home of the Andhras during the time of the Mauryas. After the death of Asoka, the Andhras asserted their independence and extended their empire towards Western Deccan. This view was accepted by other historians like E.J. Rapson, L.D. Barnett, R.G. Bhandarkar, Gurty Venkata Rao and Maremanda Rama Rao.

The above view was challenged by V.S. Sukthankar who argued that Bellary district of Karnataka was the original Satavahana home. He based his argument upon the names Satavahani-hara and Satavahana-ratha used respectively in Myakadoni inscription of Pulomavi III and Hiharadagalli plates of Pallava Sivaskanda Varman, found in Bellary district. His argument is controverted by historians like M. Rama Rao who argued that the names Satavahani-hara and Satavahana-ratha indicate that they were ruled by Satavahanas and nothing more. There is no evidence of the existence of the early Satavahanas there and Pulomavi III was removed from Simukha, his remote ancestor, by thirty eight generations and more than four hundred years. The inscription in question was

inscribed on a boulder named Janagaligundu near Myakadoni which is now in the Adoni Taluk of Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh.

Historians like P.T. Srinivasa Iyyangar rejected the Godavari-Krishna basin theory of Vincent Smith on the ground that Telugu was not used in the Satavahana inscriptions. As the Prakrit language was used in the Satavahana inscriptions and in Hala's *Saptasati,* Iyyangar felt that Maharashtra was the original Satavahana home. The theory is rejected since the Telugu language did not evolve at the time. Further, Prakrit was used not only in the Satavahana records but also in the edicts of Asoka. H.C. Rayachaudhari also supported the theory that the Satavahanas were originally from Maharashtra and moved eastwards and conquered Andhra Desa. But there is no evidence that the Satavahanas conquered Andhra, As a matter of fact that account of Megasthenes shows that the Andhras were a great power even during the time of Asoka. After the downfall of the Mauryas, the Andhras expanded their kingdom towards the west and ruled over Maharashtra also. Later, when they lost Western Deccan, they returned to their native Andhra Desa.

V.V. Mirashi argues that Vidharbha was the original home of the Satavahanas on the basis of the Hathigumpha inscription which records that the armies of Kharavela, without heeding Satakarni, proceeded west and reached Kannabenna, threatening Musikanagra. As Vidharbha is on the west of Kalinga Mirashi puts forward the claims of the former as the original home of the Satavahanas and identifies Kannabenna with the river Kanhan flowing near Nagpur. The theory is defective since the Guntapalli inscription of Kharavela gives credence to the Kalinga ruler's invasion of coastal Andhra. Further traditionally, the northern coastal Andhra districts are called the eastern area by the people south of the Godavari river. This is because of the eastward bend of the east coast near the mouth of the Krishna river. So the Hathigumpha inscription's account of Kharavela's invasion towards the west of Kalinga refers to his invasion of the Satavahana kingdom of the south.

The above theories only prove that the Satavahana rule extended over Western Deccan, Bellary and Vidharbha. The recent discovery of Satavahana coins including those of Simukha, the founder of the Satavahana dynasty in Telangana districts of Andhra Pradesh, the evidence of Megasthenes, the testimony of the *Puranas* prove that the Satavahanas were Andhras. Satavahana was the name of the dynasty *(Vamsa)* which belonged to the Andhra race *(Jati)*. In the post-Asokan period the Satavahana rule extended over the entire Dakshinapatha for nearly five centuries.

Satavahana Chronology

The chronology of the Satavahanas is a vexatious problem. The different *Puranas* like the *Matsya, Vayu, Vishnu, Bhagavata, Brahmanda* which are the main sources of information on the Satavahanas, give conflicting accounts of the duration of their rule. The *Vayu Purana* which mentions only the important Satavahana rulers assigns 300 years to the dynasty. *The Brahmanda, Vishnu* and *Bhagavata Puranas* state that the Andhras ruled for 456 years. The figure mentioned by *Matsya Purana* is 460 years. Vincent Smith reconciled the conflicting accounts by stating that the *Vayu Puranas* reckons the duration of the dynasty from the fall the Kanvas while the *Matsya, Vishnu, Bhagavata* and *Brahmanda* mentioned the duration of the dynasty from its inception. He supports his view by stating that if 45 years of Kanva rule and 112 years of Sunga rule is to the 300 years of Satavahana rule mentioned by *Vayu Purana* we get the total of 457 years. The figure tallies with the statement of the *Puranas* that the thirty Andhra kings ruled for 456 years.

Another problem is with regard to the starting date of the Satavahana rule. Gurty Venkata Rao and Oruganti Ramachandraiah state that the Satavahana rule commenced from 271 B.C. But this date cannot be accepted since Asoka ascended the throne of Magadha in or about 273 B.C. In his 13th Rock Edict issued about 256 B.C. Asoka stated that the Andhras were within his dominion.

The Mauryan Empire disintegrated after the death of Asoka in 236 B.C. The earliest Satavahana record is the Naneghat inscription of Naganika. Smith contends that it was issued about 20 years after the death of Asoka. If his view is accepted, the Satavahana rule commenced about 216 B.C. Rapson however assigns 184 B.C. to the Naneghat inscription. As the reigns of the first three rulers, Simukha, Kanha and Satakarni I covered a period of 43 years, the Satavahana rule commenced from 227 B.C.

R.G. Bhandarkar suggests the year 73 B.C. while D.C. Sircar suggests 28 B.C. Both arrived at their respective dates by basing their calculations on statements given in the various *Puranas*. Maremanda Rama Rao, who made a special study of the subject held the view that the Satavahanas ruled between 221 B.C. and A.D. 218 One can safely conclude that the Satavahanas came to power in the early decades of the 3rd century B.C. as political conditions in the north following the death of Asoka favoured their rise. The Andhras, who were powerful even during the time of Asoka, threw off their allegiance to Pataliputra after his death and

proclaimed their independence about 221 B.C. under the banner of the Satavahana dynasty.

THE EARLY SATAVAHANAS

Simukha (221 - 198 B.C.)

Simukha is regarded as the founder of the Satavahana dynasty since his name tops the list of Andhra kings given in the *Puranas*. He is also known by other names like Srimukha, Sisuka and Sindhuka. In the recently discovered Satavahana coins at Kotilingala the legend at the top runs as 'Siri Chimukha Sata'. Chimukha is identified with Simukha by Par-abrahma Sastry. In the inscriptions on the *relief* figures at Naneghat, Simukha is described as *Srimukha Satavahana Sirimata*. From this, it is evident that the dynasty derives its name not from Simukha but from one Satavahana. It can be presumed that Satavahana who was a vassal of Asoka took advantage of the death of the emperor and consolidated his position in the Deccan and paved the way for the independence of his son. Simukha on assuming power proclaimed his independence and named the dynasty after his father. He rallied round his banner other Andhra clans, invaded Western Deccan and, overcame the opposition of the local tribe "Rathikas". He consolidated his position further by entering into a matrimonial alliance with them. Simukha's son Satakarni was married to Naganika, the daughter of Maharathi Tranakayiro. Simukha decided to stay in Western Deccan and made Prathisthana his capital due to its strategic location. Simukha ruled for 23 years and died in 198 B.C. In the early years of his rule he patronised Jainism. Later he switched over his allegiance to Brahminism as there was a general reaction in its favour in the post-Asokan period. Simukha's decision to stay in Western Deccan and his patronage of Brahminism show that he understood the political realities of the time.

Kanha (Krishna) (198-180 B.C.)

According to the *Puranas*, Simukha was succeeded by his brother Kanha or Krishna. His accession to the throne in spite of Simukha having a son led Rapson and other scholars to believe that he was an usurper. This belief was strengthened by the absence of his figure in the Naneghat reliefs. These reliefs constructed under the orders of Naganika, the queen of Satakarini I who succeeded Krishna, contain the figures of Naganika, her children, her father, her husband and his father. However, it is quite likely that at the time of Simukha's death, his son Satakarni was a minor and Krishna acted as his guardian to safeguard the kingdom from the

attacks from the north. During the rule of Krishna important developments took place in the north and the east. In 185 B.C. Pushyamitra Sunga usurped the throne of Magadha. In Kalinga, Kharavela of the Ceta dynasty rose to power and threatened other rulers of the country. Krishna extended the empire towards the west as far as Nashik.

Satakarni I (180-170 B.C.)

Many details about the reign of Satakarni I are known from the Naneghat inscription issued by his wife Naganika or Nayanika. Satakarni is also mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. Satakarni was the ablest among the early Satavahana rulers. The Naneghat inscription describes him as Vina, Sura, Dakshinapathapati and some of the *Puranas* call him Mahan. Satakarni was the contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga, the ruler of Magadha and Kharavela, the ruler of Kalinga. The Satavahana kingdom was threatened by the aggressive designs of these two rulers.

From the Naneghat inscription it is evident that Satakarni I conquered western Malwa, Anupa or the Narmada valley and Vidharbha. When Pushyamitra Sunga usurped the throne of Magadha, Vidharbha proclaimed its independence. Thereupon Pushyamitra sent his son Agnimitra to conquer it. He could succeed in conquering only a part of Vidharbha, near the mouth of the Varada river. The Southern part was annexed to the Satavahana empire by Satakarni I. To celebrate his success, Satakarni performed the Aswamedha sacrifice.

Kharavela invaded the Satavahana empire and his armies reached as far as the river Kannabenna (Krishna) and threatened Musikanagara. Satakarni repulsed the attack of Kharavela and re-established his authority in the east. To mark his achievement, he took the title of 'Dakshinapathapati' and performed the second Aswamedha sacrifice. His other titles include Samrat and Aprathihata chakra.

Satakarni was the champion of the Vedic religion and performed Rajasuya and Aswamedha sacrifices. He died at an early age leaving behind his widow Naganika and four minor sons, Kumara Hakusiri, Kumara Satavahana, Satisirimat and Vedasiri.

Naganika

Naganika, the daughter of Maharathi Tranakayiro and the wife of Satakarni I was a remarkable lady and left the impress of her great personality on the administration. Like her hushand she was the champion of the Vedic religion. She issued the Naneghat inscription to record the achievements of her hushand.

Purnotsanga (170-152 B.C.)

The history of the Satavahana dynasty following the death of Satakarni I is confusing. It appears that after the regency of Naganika, the empire was divided among her four sons. The *Puranas* mention the name of Purnotsanga who was identified with Vedasiri. Taking advantage of the confused situation in the Satavahana kingdom Kharavela attacked and destroyed the flourishing city of Pritrudanagara identified with Bhattiprolu. According to the Guntupalli inscription Kharavela subdued the Mahishakas who resided in the region of Medak and Dharwar. Two other important events that took place during the reign of Purnotsanga were the deaths of Pushyamitra and Kharavela around 149 B.C.

Satakarni II (152-96 B.C.)

The long rule of Satakarni II extending for 56 years is memorable for a variety of reasons. It was during his reign that Pataliputra, the metropolis of ancient India came under the control of Satavahanas. For the first time a South Indian dynasty established its sway over the north. Taking advantage of the dissensions in the Magadhan kingdom following the death of Pushyamitra Sunga, Satakarni II advanced upon Vidisa and annexed it. He conquered Kalinga also which had come under the control of the Sakas after the death of Kharavela. From Kalinga, Satakarni II proceeded to Pataliputra and conquered it. Satakarni is mentioned in an inscription on the gateway of Sanchi, the *Yugapurana* and a few coins.

The successors of Satakarni II include Lambodara, Apalika and Meghasvati. Very little is known about them.

Kuntala Satakarni (38-30 B.C.)

Kuntala Satakarni ruled for a short period of eight years only. He is mentioned in a number of literary works like *Kavya Mimamsa* of Rajasekhara, *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana and Brihatkatha of Gunadhya. His rule is memorable as Sanskrit replaced Prakrit as the official language of the empire. A small incident led to this change. Satakarni, who was ignorant of Sanskrit, had to cut a sorry figure before his queen who spoke in Sanskrit. He therefore resolved to master that language in six months. Thereupon, Sarva Varma, one of the ministers of Satakarni prepared Katantra Vyakarana and enabled his master to fulfil his resolve. Due to his new-found love for Sanskrit Satakarni made it the official language of the empire. Gunadhya, another minister of Satakarni, had great love for Prakrit and Desi, the local dialects. He therefore retired to

the forests, and composed *Brihatkatha* in the Paisachi dialect. Satakarni, the new champion of Sanskrit, could not tolerate a work in a non-Sanskrit language. He therefore ordered Gunadhya to destroy his work except on "Lambaka". The fragmentary *Brihatkatha* became the source for *Kathasaritsagara.* Sarva Varma was made the Lord of the city of Baru Kuchha or modern Baroach in Gujarat. Kuntala Satakarni was a powerful ruler. His dominions included Dakshinapatha and parts of North India. He was a pleasure-loving king and was responsible for the accidental death of his queen Malayavati. The incident is mentioned in a commentary in the *Kamasutra.*

Pulomavi I (30-6 B.C.)

Pulomavi was the fifteenth Andhra king mentioned in the *Puranas.* He is regarded to have killed Susarma, the Kanva king of Pataliputra and annexed his kingdom. It may be for this reason that the *Puranas* call Andhras 'Paulomas'.

Hala (A.D. 19-24)

Hala the seventeenth king of the Satavahana is mentioned by Vatsyayana in his *Kamasutra* and Rajasekhara in *Kavya Mimamsa.* The Prakrit poetical work *Lilavai* (Lilavati) by Kutuhala narrates the love story of Hala and Lilavati, a princess from Sri Lanka. The lovers were united in wedlock at Sapta-Godavari Bhimaor Draksharama in East Godavari district. Hala is regarded as the author of *Saptasai,* a Prakrit work. Gunadhya was his contemporary. Hala was known as Kavivatsala or patron of the poets. After Hala, the fortunes of the Satavahana family once again declined. They lost their provinces in Central and Western India and also Magadha. They were confined to their home territories in Andhra Desa.

Later Satavahanas

Gautamiputra Satakarni (A.D. 78-102)

Gautamiputra Satakarni was one of the outstanding rulers of ancient India. He was the son of Sivasvati and Gautami Balasri. His achievements and personality are known from the Nashik inscription of his mother Balasri. At the time of his accession the situation was very gloomy for the Satavahanas. In the Indo-Gangetic plain the Kushans were making great progress. Western Deccan was in the hands of Ksaharatas. The foreign tribes Sakas, Yavanas and Pahalavas who had

embraced Hinduism and settled in India disturbed the peace and order of the Deccan. In such a gloomy situation Satakarni did not lose heart. He rose to the occasion and destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahalavas. He defeated the Saka Satrap (king) Nahapana and re-established the glory of the Satavahana family. He is credited with having conquered the territories of Anupa, Aparantha, Saurashtra, Kukura and Avanti from Nahapana. These territories are now in the States of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra. He also conquered Vidarbha (Berar region of Maharashtra), Asaka (Nizamabad District of A.P.) and Muluka (Aurangabad District of Maharashtra). The boundaries of his empire extended from eastern Rajasthan to Cuddalore in Tamil Nadu, from Rishi Kulya (in Orissa) to Vaijayanti in Karnataka. In other words, it included the entire Andhra Pradesh, parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. One of his titles 'Thrisamudra Toya Pitavahana, (one whose horses drank the waters of the three oceans), suggests the fact that his armies had touched the Bay of Bengal, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Besides being a conqueror, Gautamiputra was a great administrator and patronised the Vedic religion. His mother Gautami Balasri and wife, Vasisti were noted for their works of charity and partronage of both the Brahminical and Buddhist faiths.

Vasistaputra Pulomavi (A.D. 102-130)

Gautamiputra was succeeded by his son Pulomavi. During his rule pressure from the Sakas from the north-west increased and the Satavahana empire began to disintegrate in the west and north. Pulomavi concentrated more on his eastern possessions in coastal Andhra.

Sivasri Satakarni (A.D. 130-154)

Pulomavi II was succeeded by his brother Vasistaputra Sivasri Satakarni. He was twice defeated by his father-in-law, Rudradaman, the Saka ruler.

Gautmiputra Yajnasri (A.D. 174-203)

Gautamiputra Yajnasri was the last great king of the Satavahanas. He is mentioned in the inscription at Nashik, Kanheri and Chinnaganjam. He took advantage of the confusion at Ujjain after the death of Rudradaman and invaded his dominion. He re-established his authority over a greater part of Western Deccan and of Central India. This fact is confirmed by the discovery of his coins in Berar, North Konkan, Saurashtra and Western Deccan.

The court of Yajnasri was adorned by Nagarjuna, the exponent of Madhyamika doctrine of Buddhist philosophy. He lived at Sriparvata now known as Nagarjunakonda. Nagarjuna was also a reputed chemist. According to a story in *Kathasaritsagara,* Nagarjuna was murdered at the behest of the crown prince.

Yajnasri enlarged the famous Amaravati stupa and constructed the stone railing round the Mahachaitya. After the death of Yajnasri, the Satavahana empire declined. The last three kings of the dynasty were Vijaya Satakarni Chandrasri and Pulomavi III, who ruled from A.D. 203 to 224 . The feudatories of the Satavahanas arrested their independence. In Maharashtra the Tirkutakas became independent while in Andhra, the Ikshavakus consolidated their authority in the region around Nagarjunakonda. The Satavahana rule, which extended for nearly five centuries came to an end in the early decades of the third century A.D.

Administration

The Satavahanas organised a sound administration to control their vast empire. By and large, they followed the Mauryan model and at the same time made new innovations to suit the local needs. The Satavahana rulers were not cruel despots but tried to discharge their duties according to the tenets of the *Dharma Sastras* to promote the well-being of all sections of the society.

The King and the Council

At the apex of the administration was the king who was known by his title Raja or Maharaja. The Satavahana kings did not assume high-sounding titles like Samrat or claim divine origin. The crown prince was known as Yuvaraja or Kumara. The succession to the throne was by the law of Primogeniture even though the later Satavahana kings associated their names with their mothers like Gautamiputra and Vasisthiputra. The king was assisted by a number of ministers of different grades and status. Among the ministers, *Visvasa Amatya* held the pre-eminent position as he was consulted by the king on all important matters. The *Raja Amatyas* who ranked below the *Visvasa Amatya* constituted the ministerial council.

Administrative Services

The administration was manned by officials noted for their efficiency, hard work and loyalty. Officials of the higher echelons included *Maha Senapati* (Commander-in-chief) *Mahamatras* (Head of the Departments),

Mahataraka (Chamberlain), *Bhandagarika* (Controller of Stores), *Heranika* (Treasurer). Other officials include the Ganapaka (Accountant), *Pratihara* and *Duta* (messengers), *Lekhaka* (writer or clerk), *Nibandhanakara* (Registrar of Documents) and *Patlika Palaka* (Director of Archives).

Provinces

The empire, under the direct rule of the Satavahanas, was divided into a number of provinces called *Aharas.* They were placed in charge of governors called *Amatyas.* These were non-hereditary officers appointed for a term of five years and were liable to be transferred. The *Aharas* were named after the headquarters of the governor. Some of the well known provinces were Govardhana (Nashik), Sopara and Mamala (Pune). Besides the Aharas there were semi-autonomous territories governed by hereditary chiefs known as *Maharathas* and *Mahabhojas.* During the closing years of the Satavahana rule when the empire was frequently attacked by foreign tribes like the Sakas, the outlying Aharas were placed in charge of *Maha Senapatis.*

Local Administration

The lowest unit of the administration was *Grama* or village. It was placed in the charge of an official called *Gramani* who sometimes controlled a cluster of villages numbering five or ten.

Nigama Sabhas

As the Satavahana empire carried on brisk trade with foreign countries a number of cities like Prathisthana, Sopara, Nashik, Govardhana, Tagara Kanheri, Kalyana, Vaijayanti, Amaravati, Vijayapuri, Srikakulam developed in different parts of the empire. The affairs of these cities were looked after by corporate bodies called *Nigama sabhas* which had a representative character. The heads of certain households called *Gahapathis* and the representatives of merchant guilds were co-opted as members of Nigama Sabha.

Revenue

The main source of the state's income was land revenue. The royal share of the agricultural produce was known as 'bhoga' and 'deyameya'. Besides this, taxes called 'Karukara' were colected from artisans.

Social and Economic Conditions

Castes and Professions

During the rule of the Satavahanas, Brahminism gained ascendency and the four-fold caste system of Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra tended to become more rigid. Though the Satavahana kings championed Hinduism their queens patronised Buddhism also. Both religions co-existed in perfect harmony and their mutual relations were based on tolerance. The foreign invaders like the Sakas and Yavanas settled down in India and embraced either Buddhism or Hinduism. Gradually, they adopted Indian names and customs and were absorbed into the Hindu fold. They were looked upon as Kshatriyas and the local ruling dynasties entered into matrimonial alliances with them. However Gautamiputra Satakarni abhorred the assimilation of the foreign tribes into the Hindufold and claimed to have stopped 'Varna sankara' or assimilation of castes (*Vinivartita Chaturvarna Sankara). Nashik prasasti* recorded by his mother Balasri claims that he destroyed the Sakas (Scythians), Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) and Pahlavas (Parthians), (*Saka-Yavana-pahlava nisudana kara)*. Further he was the *eka-Brahmana* (unique Brahmin) who destroyed the pride of the Kshatriyas *(Kshatriya-darpa-man-mardana)*. In spite of his multifarious activities he found time for the pursuit of 'trivarga' or the three aims of human life. The attempts of Gautamiputra Satakarni to prevent the intermixture of castes and the assimilation of foreign invaders into the Hindufold yielded mixed results. The caste sysem lost its flexibility and became more and more rigid, but the assimilation of foreign tribes into the Hindufold went on unabated. As a matter of fact, Sivasri, one of the successors of Gautamiputra, married the daughter of Rudradaman, the Saka Satrap.

Along with the four-fold caste system, society was divided into four classes on the basis of the professions of people who were called according to their profession as *Halika* (cultivator), *Sethi* (merchant), *Vachaki* (Carpenter), *Kamara* (blacksmith), *Suvarnakara* (goldsmith), *Tilapisaka* (oil monger). The professionals were grouped into four sections like the four castes. The first section consisted of feudatories and top officials like *Maharathis, Mahabhojas* and *Mahasenapathis.* The second section included *amatyas* and *sethis.* The third section included the *halikas* and *suvarnakaras.* The fourth included the *vachiki kolika* (weaver), and *kamaras.* People following the same profession grouped themselves into *srenis* or guilds.

Position of Women

One of the outstanding features of the Satavahana society was the high status accorded to women. Royal ladies like Naganika, Balasri played a dominant role in the affairs of the state. The Satavahana kings took pride in associating their names with their mothers like Gautamiputra and Vasisthiputra. This does not, however, indicate that the metronymic system of society existed. The social structure was based on the patrilinear system.

Though the rulers championed Hinduism, the royal ladies and those belonging to the affluent classes patronised Buddhism and made liberal grants to the Chaityas (Buddhist temples) and Viharas (residential quarters for Buddhist monks and mendicants). One can presume that some women occupied high positions in the administration as we come across the terms like *Mahabholi*, *Maharathini* and *Mahasenapatini* in the inscriptions.

The Satavahana women were fashion-conscious. In the paintings at Ajanta and sculptures of Ellora and Amaravati we come across different hairstyles that were in vogue in those times. They were also fond of ornaments and bedecked themselves with a variety of jewels like earrings, necklaces, bangles, bracelets and anklets. They did not have any inhibition in partaking intoxicants or participating in entertainments like *Madanotsava, Ghatani bandhana Kaumadi Yagam* where both sexes mingled freely. In short, the Satavahana society was free and open but not permissive. The people had developed a healthy attitude towards religion, morals and sex.

Religion

During the Mauryan period the religions of the north like Brahminism, Buddhism and Jainism made inroads into the Deccan. The first Satavahana ruler, Simukha, was reputed to be a Jain during the early years of his rule, but changed his faith to Brahminism as the popular reaction became strong in favour of the Vedic faith. Satakarni I, the third king of the dynasty, was a staunch champion of Hinduism. From the Naneghat inscription of his wife Naganika it is evident that Satakarni performed two *Ashvamedhas* and one *Rajasuya* sacrifice. Besides, he performed numerous other sacrifices like *aptoryama* and *agneyadheya*. Naganika also championed the Vedic faith. The royal couple named one of their sons Vedasri. Among the later Satavahanas Gautamiputra Satakarni fully

identified himself as the defender of the Vedic faith and tried to prevent *Varnasankara.* He was hailed as *Eka-Brahamana.*

While championing the Vedic faith the Satavahana rulers extended their partronage to Buddhism also. Acharya Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamika doctrine of the Buddhist philosophy lived at Sriparvata, now known as Nagarjunakonda. For a time he lived at the court of Gautamiputra Yagnasri.

The Jain religion did not receive much patronage from the Satavahana rulers even though some of the kingdoms on the borders of the empire like Kalinga, Malwa and Mysore were flourish centres of Jainism .

Prakrit and Sanskrit

Prakrit was the official language of the Deccan when the Satavahanas commenced their rule. The Satavahanas patronised that language and Hala, the seventeenth king of the dynasty, wrote *Saptasati* in Prakrit. Gunadhya, a minister of Kuntala Satakarni, composed *Brihatkatha* in Paisachi, but Kuntala Satakarni extended patronage to Sanskrit only and Prakrit was relegated to the background. Sarva Varma, another minister of Kuntala Satakarni, wrote *Katantra Vyakarana* which made the learning of Sanskrit easy. By the time of the later Satavahanas Sanskrit had attained supremacy all over the Deccan and even the Saka ruler Rudradaman issued his inscriptions in Sanskrit itself. The Buddhists also preferred Sanskrit. Though Sanskrit replaced Prakrit as the language of the elite, the common people spoke in Desi which was the forerunner of the present-day languages of the Deccan like Telugu and Kannada.

Art and Architecture

The contribution of the Satavahanas to Indian art and architecture is immense. They were the innovators of the rock-cut architecture. A number of Chaityas and Viharas were hewn out of rock in a number of places like Nashik, Kanheri, Karle in Western Deccan. In Andhra, viharas and stupas (a monument built on the remains of Buddha or other great teachers) were built of brick and marble in a number of places like Amaravati, Jaggaiahpeta, Goli, Gantasala, Nagarjunakonda and Bhattiprolu.

Amaravati School of Art

At Amaravati on the left bank of the Krishna river, the largest Buddhist stupa of South India was constructed. Its construction began in 200 B.C.

and was completed in A.D. 200. The diameter of the stupa at the base was 51 metres. The height of the dome was 31 metres and the outer railing 15 metres wide. Instead of brick and red stone, marble was used in the construction. The inner stupa was richly engraved, depicting incidents from Buddha's life. The stupendous stupa could not withstand the ravages of time and its ruins are preserved in the London Museum. Art critics lavished praise on the greatness of Amaravati art. Epithets like "a new canon of beauty and tranquillity","the aesthetic ideal of India" were used in describing the grandeur of Amaravati art. One of the schools of Indian art is named after Amaravati, the capital of the later Satavahanas. Similarly the earliest paintings, especialy the renowned "Black princess" in the Ajanta caves belong to the Satavahana period.

Economic Conditions

Deccan, the main seat of the Satavahana power, is watered by the two mighty rivers of South India, namely the Godavari and the Krishna. As a result agriculture became the mainstay of the Satavahana economy. The rivers, besides sustaining agriculture, became the main channels of trade and communication. Realising the dominant role played by the rivers in their economy, the Satavahanas located their early capital at Prathisthana on the left bank of the Godavari river in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. Their later capital, which rivalled the brilliance of Indra's court was aptly named Amaravati and located on the left bank of the Krishna river in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh.

Very little is known from the inscriptions about the state of agriculture or the irrigational facilities provided by the state. But from the literary works like *Saptasati* we get the impression that the villages were prosperous and grew a variety of crops like paddy, gingelly, and sugarcane. Eastern-Deccan (Telangana) covered by alluvial soil was agriculturally more advanced and densely populated.

Besides fostering agriculture the Satavahanas developed both internal and maritime trade. The figure of a ship found on the coins of Pulomavi and Yagnasri testify to the fact of their maritime activity. Further discovery of a large number of Roman coins in the Krishna valley strengthens the above fact. *Periplus of Erythrean Sea* (A.D. 60-70) mentions a number of ports on the western and Andhra coasts. The important western ports included Sopar, Kalyana, Bargaza and Barukachcha, the northern most port of Dakshinapatha. The important market towns of Andhra included Kontakossyla (Ghantasala), Koddura (Kodur of Krishna

district or Guduru near Machilipatnam) and Allosygne (Corinka near Kakinada). The inland market towns of Telangana included Kotilingala situated at the confluence of Peddavagu and Godavari river in Peddapallimandal of Karimnagar (Elgandala) district, Peddabankur, a village near Peddapalli, Dhulikatta or Dhulikota (mud fort) near Elgandala. Perhaps it was one of the thirty walled towns noted by Megasthenes. Other market towns of the eastern Deccan included Kondapur, (Medak district), 70 kms from Hyderabad city, Vijayapuri (Nalgonda district), and Bhattiprolu (Guntur district). The important market towns of Western Deccan included prathisthana, Tagara, Nashik, Govardhana, Vaijayanthi and Jannar. As many of the market towns were located on the banks of rivers, traders and travellers covered the distance by means of boats. The highway running from the north to the south and west were also used by traders. As the highways were infested by robbers and wild animals, merchants moved in caravans. The Srenis or trade guilds which acted as bankers facilitated the development of trade.

The main items of export to Rome, Persia and other countries included textiles, silks, gems, ivory, pepper and high quality steel known as wootz produced at Konasamudram and Elgandala. The imports included wine, copper, gold and silver. As a result of the brisk trade, a rich class of merchants known as *sethis* came into existence and dominated the society. They patronised Buddhism and gave donations for the construction of Chaityas and Viharas. It is interesting to note that in the inscription on the caves of Western India, the donations given by merchants were mentioned in 46 lines while those of the kings and royal family members account for 30 only.

The Satavahana empire could sustain itself for five centuries in spite of the repeated attacks from its enemies, due to its economic strength resulting mainly from foreign trade.

To conclude, the Satavahana rule extending over five centuries from 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. constitutes one of the glorious epochs of ancient Indian history. The history of India before the advent of the Satavahanas was mainly the history of North India. The Satavahanas who controlled the land between the Narmada in the north and Tungabhadra in the South and Bay of Bengal in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west gave the Deccan a political individuality and blessed the area with peace and prosperity at a time when North India was rocked by several political disturbances caused by foreign invasions and dynastic revolutions.

The Satavahana empire at its zenith included not only contemporary Andhra Pradesh, but also parts of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar. In extent it ranked second only to the Mauryan Empire.

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SUCCESSORS OF THE SATAVAHANAS

The Satavahana rule came to an end towards the first quarter of the third century A.D. Following the extinction of the Satavahanas, a number of small feudatory families rose to power in different parts of Andhra. The minor dynasties included the Ishvakus, Brihat Palayanas, Anandas, Salankayanas who ruled over central coastal Andhra. The North Coastal Andhra region comprising the present East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam districts formed part of the Kalinga region. After the downfall of the Chedi dynasty of Kharavela, the region came under the control of a number of petty local chieftains belonging to different dynasties like the Pitribhaktas, Matharas and Vasishthas.

The Ishvakus

Among the feudatories who hastened the downfall of the Satavahanas were the Ishvakus of the Krishna-Guntur region. The *Puranas* refer them as Sriparvatiya Andhras who held power in the region around Nagarjunakonda. It is difficult to state whether they were a branch of the celebrated dynasty of Ayodhya to which Sri Rama belonged.

Vasisthiputra Santamula (Chantamula) I

The earliest known king of the dynasty was Vasisthiputra Santamula (Chantamula) I who came into prominence in the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. following the disappearance of the Satavahana rule. Very little is known about the extent of his empire. He, however, proclaimed independence by performing the Aswamedha sacrifice. He married a Brahmin lady named Madhuri Devi. Santamula was a staunch Hindu. Besides the Aswamedha he performed other Vedic sacrifices like Vajapeya. He has two sisters, Santasri and Harmyasri. The eldest, Santa Sri favoured Buddhism and constructed a Mahachai-

tya at Nagarjunakonda. She was married to Skandasri, the commander-in-chief and a feudatory belonging to the Pugiya family. Nothing is about the husband of Harmyasri. She had two daughters Vapisri and Shasthisri. The king's daughter Atavi-Santisri was married to a high official holding the rank of *Mahadanda Nayaka*. He belonged to the noble family of Dhanakas. Santamula I thus tried to protect the interests of the dynasty by forging matrimonial alliances with his feudatories. He was succeeded by his son Virapurusha Datta.

Mathariputra Virapurusha Datta

The rule of Virapurusha commenced sometime in the third quarter of the 3rd century A.D. The records belonging to his reign were discovered at Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunakonda. As some of his inscriptions were issued in his twentieth regnal year, it is presumed that he might have ruled at least for twenty years.

Virapurusha married three daughters of his paternal aunts (Santasri and Harmyasri). Such marriages which are peculiar to Andhra are familiar even in early times. Another queen of Virapurusha was Rudradhara-bhattarika. According to D.C. Sircar she might have been related to Rudrasena II (c. A.D. 254-74) the Saka ruler of Western India. Virapurusha's daughter Kodabalisiri was married to the ruler of Vanavasa or Banavasi in Karnataka. The ruler of Banavasi belonged to the Chutu family, a branch of the Satavahana dynasty. Virapurusha, by forging matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Ujjain and Banavasi, continued the policy of his father in strengthening the Ishvaku dynasty through a network of marriage alliances with rulers of different regions. Viraputra was succeeded by his son Vasisthiputra Ehuvula Santamula II who ruled for about eleven years.

Vasisthiputra Ehuvula Santamula II

Ehuvula was the third and last independent ruler of the Ishvaku dynasty. He ruled for eleven years only. He was overthrown by the Pallavas who occupied the Krishna- Guntur region by the end of the third century A.D.

Resurgence of Buddhism

Unlike Santamula I, who championed Brahminism and performed Vedic sacrifices, his successors were Buddhists and made liberal donations to several Chaityas and Viharas in and around the capital city, Vijayapuri. Probably Virapurusha was drawn towards the Buddhist faith due to the influence of his paternal aunts whose daughters he

married. The ladies of the Ishvaku family, like the Satavahana royal ladies, favoured Buddhism. Most of the Nagarjunakonda inscriptions record the liberal donations made by the ladies of the Ishvaku family to the great monastery at Vijayapuri. The language used in the inscriptions was Prakrit. After the downfall of the Ishvakus Buddhism began to decline in the heartland of Andhra.

Brihat Palayanas (A.D. 270-285)

In the ancient times there was a kingdom in the Krishna district with its capital at Pithunda, near Machilipatnam. According to the Hathigumpha inscription, the city was destroyed by Kharavela. The Greek geographer, Ptolemy of the second century A.D., makes a reference to the 'metropolis' of Pithunda.

During the years A.D. 270-285 Pithunda was ruled by a king named Jayavarma who belonged to the Brihat Phalayana *gotra*. No other king of the line is as yet known. At Kondamudi, near Tenali, a copper plate grant issued by Jayavarma in his tenth regnal year was discovered. The grant is in the form of an order issued by Jayavarma from his victorious camp at Kudura (Guduru, near Machilipatnam) to the governor of Kuduru-ahara (district). It pertains to the grant of land in favour of a number of Brahmins. The charter issued in Prakrit describes Jayavarma as the devotee of Maheswara and calls him Raja. Nothing is known about the relations of the Brihat Phalayanas with the neighbouring kingdom of the Ishvakus or Pallavas of Kanchi. Perhaps they had been subdued by the Pallavas. A part of the Brihat Phalayana territory passed into the hands of the Salankayanas of Vengi.

Anandas

A dynasty belonging to the Ananda gotra ruled over Guntur district from the end of the third century A.D. to the beginning of the sixth century A.D. We know only about the three kings of the dynasty from the Chezerla inscription and the plates of Mattipadu and Gorantla. The three kings were Kandara, Damodara Varma, and Attivarma.

Kandara

The Chezerla inscription in Sanskrit states that Kandara defeated his enemies at the battle of Dhanyakataka and became the lord of Krishna venna (Krishnaveni or Krishna), Trikuta hill, Kandapura and two Janapatas (provinces). His banner bore the representation of Golungula (a species of monkey). He was called Prithiviyuvasat. The reference

to the battle of Dhanyakataka implies that Kandara drove away the Pallavas from that city which was the early Pallava headquarters in Andhra Patha. Trikuta hill has been identified as the modern Kotappa Konda. Regarding the identification of Kandarapura there is a difference of opinion. Maremanda Rama Rao identifies with Kanteru in Guntur taluk. But Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma believes that Chebrolu in Bapatla taluk which contains the famous temple of Skanda might have been known as Skandapura or Kandarapura. Kandara had a son named Satsabhamalla and a daughter Avani-talanta-vati.

Damodara Varma

We get some information about this king from the *Mallipadu Grant.* He was a Buddhist but made gifts to Hindu temples and to Brahmins.

Attivarman

From the Gorantla plates it is evident that Attivarma was a devotee of Siva. He made grants of lands to Brahmins. It is presumed that the famous Kapaleswara temple at Chezerla was constructed by the Anandas in the fourth century A.D. Originally it was a Buddhist Chaitya. Later it was converted into a Hindu temple.

The end of the dynasty was brought about by the Salankayanas who had earlier joined hands with the Anandas to drive away the Pallavas from Andhrapatha.

The Salankayanas (A.D. 300-420)

The Salankayanas ruled over the present West-Godavari district for about 120 years with Vengi as their capital. Vengi was near the Peddavegi village of Eluru Mandal. According to the Allahabad pillar inscription Samudragupta defeated Hasti Varman, a Salankayana king. He was referred to as Vaingeyaka or lord of the Vengi. From the Salankayana records issued both in Prakrit and Sanskrit we come across the names of the six kings of the dynasty. They were Deva Varma, Nandi Varma, Skanda Varma, Hasti Varma, Chandra Varma and Nandi Varma II. But the chronology of these rulers is difficult to determine. The *Eluru grant* of Deva Varma was inscribed in Prakrit, while *Kanteru, Kolleru* Granths were issued in Sanskrit, since Sanskrit replaced Prakrit, as is seen from the epigraphical records, since the middle of the fourth century A.D. It is presumed that Devavarma ruled earlier than the other kings whose records are in Sanskrit only. The *Eluru*

Granth issued in the thirteenth regnal year of Devavarma claims that he had performed the Aswamedha. He was described as *Parama-maheswara*. He might have defeated the Pallavas.

The family deity of the Salankayana rulers was Chitrarathaswami or the Sun-god. However, some rulers favoured Saivism while others patronised Vaishnavism. But the insignia of the family was Nandi, since Salanakayana indicates Nandi, the bull of Siva. All the records of the dynasty bear the figure of a bull. The end of the dynasty took place in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. when, probably, they were over powered by the Vishnukundis.

Kalinga Rulers

After the fall of the Satavahanas and the decline of the Chedi dynasty, the region between the river Godavari and Rishikulya was split into a number of petty principalities. From the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (C.A.D.340-380), it is known that he had invaded the south during the years A.D. 342-343 and defeated twelve kings of the Dakshinapatha. Among them were included Swamidatta of Kottura, Mahendragiri of Pisthapura, Damana of Erandapalli, Kubera of Devarashtra. Kottura is identified with Kotturu near Mahendragiri in the Srikakulam district. Erandapalli is identified with Amudalavalasa near Srikakulam. Devarashtra is identified with Yelamanchili of Visakhapatnam district. Pistapura is the modern Pithapuram of the East Godavari district.

Pitrubhaktas

A dynasty called Pitrubhaktas (devoted to father) ruled over Srikakulam district with Simhapura. (modern Sigupuram near Srikakulam) as its capital. The rulers of the dynasty included Chandra Varma who called himself the Maharaja. He issued the *Komarti Granth* in the sixth year of his reign. This grant refers to Chandravarma as Kalingadhipathi (Lord of Kalinga). Another king of the dynasty was Umavarma. He is known from the *Brihat Proshtha Granth* issued in his 13th regnal year. He is also referred to as pitrubhakta on the seal of the Tekkali charter issued in his 9th regnal year. Another king of the dynasty was Nanda Prabhanjana Varma. He is also described as Kalingadhipathi in the *Srikakulam Granth* which bears on the seal the word Prithrubhokta. These kings ruled during the fifth century A.D.

The Matharas

While the Pitrubhaktas held sway over Srikakulam district, central Kalinga (Visakhapatnam-East Godavari district) was ruled over by the royal family of Matharas. The kings of the dynasty included Maharaja Vasisthiputra Saktivarma and Ananta Saktivarma. The *Ragolu Granth* describes Vasisthiputra SaktiVarma as the lord of Kalinga and the ornament of the Mathara dynasty. The same title and epithet are used for Ananta Sakti Varma in the *Sakunaka Granth* issued in his 28th regnal year. It is interesting to note that the grant was issued from Simhapura, the capital of the Pitrubhaktas. Throughout the 5th century A.D. the Pitrubhaktas and Matharas were engaged in a struggle for the supremacy of Kalinga. While they were thus engaged a new royal line known as the Gangas came into existence at Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam in Srikakulam district) in 496 A.D. The Gangas subdued the ruler of central Kalinga in the sixth century while the Chalukyas brought under their sway, the rulers of South Kalinga.

Vasisthas

Another dynasty of Kalinga was that of the Vasisthas. The rulers of the dynasty include Gunavarma, Prabhanjanavarma and Ananthavarma.

They were originally from central Kalinga and later conquered south Kalinga from Matharas and shifted the capital to Pisthapura. The use of metronymics by the Vasisthas and Matharas suggest that the two royal families were matrimonially related. There was another minor dynasty called the Nalas. It is not known whether the Nalas were related to the Nalas of Nandivardhana in Berar, who defeated the Vakatakas. They were however overthrown by the Chalukyas of Badami in the second half of the sixth century. Another Kalinga dynasty which held sway over the Ganjam and Puri districts of Orissa was that of the Sailodbhavas who had their capital at Kongada in the Ganjam district.

II

VISHNUKUNDIS (C A.D. 375-612).

Among the minor dynasties which ruled over the different regions of Andhra following the decline and fall of the Satavahanas in the 3rd century A.D. and the rise of the Eastern Chalukyas in the 7th century A.D. the Vishnukundis occupy a unique position. Till recently there was a

great deal of controversy regarding the origin of the dynasty, its genealogy and chronology. Many scholars like Kielhorn, Hultzsch, H. Krishna Sastri, K.V. Lakshmana Rao and D.C. Sircar who studied the Vishnukundi epigraphs came to different conclusions on various matters pertaining to the dynasty. Recently Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan who made a detailed study of the dynasty laid at rest most of the controversies. According to him, the correct name of the dynasty is Vishnukundi and not Vishnukundin as the early scholars called it. According to him the genealogy and chronology of the Vishnukundi kings is as follows.

1.	Indra Varma	A.D. c.375-400
2.	Madhava Varma I	A.D. c.400-422
3.	Govinda Varma	A.D. c.422-462
4.	Madhava Varma II	A.D. c.462-502
5.	Vikramendra Varma (Madhava Varma III son of Deva Varma)	A.D. c.502-527
6.	Indrabhattaraka Varma	A.D. c.527-555
7.	Vikramendra Varma II	A.D. c.555-572
8.	Madhava Varma IV	A.D. c.572-612

Scholars have also made various conjectures about the origin and the homeland of the Vishnukundis. Dr. Kielhorn who edited the Chikkulla plates which are the first discovered records of the dynasty was of the opinion that Vinukonda, located about 100 kms east of Srisailam might have been the capital of the Vishnukundi dominion. Scholars like Krishna Sastri were of the opinion that the dynasty was of North Indian origin. But researches based on the newly discovered Thummalagudem plates have proved that the original home of the Vishnukundis was modern Srisailam in the Kurnool district. The second set of Thummalagudem plates describes the kings of the dynasty as Sriparvatiyas. Sri Parvata, the abode of Sri Mallikarjuna, is the modern Srisailam.

Meaning of Vishnukundi

There are divergent views regarding the meaning of the term Vishnukundi. According to some, it is the name of the gotra just like Vishnu Vriddha of the Vakatakas. Some others are of the opinion that the family must have been born out of Vishnukunda or altar of fire of Lord Vishnu. The third theory is that Vishnukundi is the Sanskritized form of Vinukonda. According to the fourth theory Vishnukundi was the name of the individual who founded the dynasty.

The Rise of Vishnukundi Power

Vishnukundis originally held sway over the region north of Srisailam, i.e., the modern districts of Nalgonda and Mahboob Nagar (Palamuru). The region was known as Rishika country which was contiguous to Kuntala, Andhra and Asmaka countries. Kuntala and Andhra were the upper and lower valleys of the Krishna river, while Asmaka corresponded roughly to modern Nizamabad (Induru)-Aurangabad (Prathisthana) region. The Rishika country formed part of the empire of Asoka. This is borne out by his edicts at Maski, Gavimath and Palkigundu located in the Raichur district of Karnataka, while the Erragudi edict is in the Kurnool district. After the fall of the Mauryas the Rishika region came under the control of the Satavahanas. The Hathigumpha inscription mentions a city by name Rishikanagara which Kharavela tried to conquer. After the downfall of the Satavahanas the region came under the control of the local chiefs known as the Chutus and Sivalas.

It is not clear how the Vishnukundis rose to power. Probably an individual by the name of Vishnukundi might have crushed the power of the local chiefs and founded his own dynasty. Nothing can be said with certainty about the date of this individuals and the extent of his territory.

Indra Varma I (A.D. c.375-400)

The names of the first two kings of the dynasty are recorded as Indra Varma and Madhava Varma in the Tummalagudem plates (first set). The record is silent about the extent of territory ruled by these kings. However, from the title Maharaja one can presume that they were independent rulers. Indra Varma built a new capital and named it Indrapura. It is identified with Indrapalagutta, near Thummalagudem in the Ramannapeta Taluq of Nalgonda district.

Madhava Varma I (A.D. c.400-422)

Indra Varma was succeeded by his son Madhava Varma in A.D. 400 He ruled for 22 years. The power of these kings was confined to Nalgonda-Palamuru region only. They were contemporaneous to the Salankayanas who controlled the West Godavari-Krishna region.

Govinda Varma I (A.D. c.422-462)

The reign of Madhava Varma I came to an end in A.D. 422. He was succeeded by his son Govinda Varma I. Govinda Varma was the

contemporary of Pravarasena II, the Vakataka ruler with whom he maintained friendly relations. Taking advantage of the declining power of the Salankayanas, Govinda Varma extended the boundaries of his kingdom towards the Coastal Andhra region. He married Parama Maha Devi, the daughter of Prithvimula, a neighbouring feudal chief.

Govinda Varma was the real founder of the dynasty. The Vakataka rulers entered into matrimonial alliance with the Vishnukundis. Govinda Varma patronised both Buddhism and the Vedic faith. To begin with he was a Buddhist, but later converted to Saivism. Perhaps he changed his faith due to his close contacts with the Vakataka rulers. The mother of Pravarasena II, the Vakata king was a devotee of Mallikarjuna, the presiding deity of Srisailam.

Madhava Varma II (A.D. c.462-502)

Govinda Varma was succeeded by his son Madhava Varma also known as Madhava Raju in A.D.462 Information about his reign is recorded in (1)the Velpuru pillar inscription, (2)the Ipur plates (set I) and (3)the Khanapur plates.

The Vishnukundi power reached its zenith during the reign of this ruler. He was the contemporary of Devasena, a ruler of Vatsagulma branch of the Vakatakas. Taking advantage of the military weakness of the pleasure loving Devasena, Madhava Varma extended his empire towards the Warangal-Elgandala (Karimnagar) region touching the Godavari river. In the east he overthrew the Salankayana dynasty and annexed Vengi. In the south he annexed the Guntur region from the Pallavas. In the 37th year of his rule he conquered Pisthapura, (Pithapuram) in the East Godavari district from the Matharas. His armies penetrated into the Srikakulam district and secured the allegiance of the early Ganga rulers.

Madhava Varma was a powerful ruler of his time in the Deccan. He helped the Vakataka ruler Prithvi Sena when his kingdom was attacked by Dhana Sena the ruler of Trikuta. He maintained cordial relations with the Rashtrakutas and the Kadambas. He performed eleven Aswamedha and a number of other Vedic sacrifices. He had three sons namely Deva Varma, Vikramendra Varma and Manchayanna Bhattaraka.

Vikramendra Varma (A.D. c.502-527)

Very little is known about this ruler. In one of the records he was referred as Mahakavi, though none of his poetical works have come to light. The

records of his family describe him both as a devotee of Sugata (Buddha) and Lord of Sriparvata (Mallikarjuna). Probably like his grandfather Govinda Varma I he patronised both Saivism and Buddhism. None of the Vishnukundi records credit him with political achievements. Hence one can surmise that the decline of the dynasty had started with him. He was defeated by Harishena, the Vakataka ruler of the Vatsagulma branch.

Madhava Varma III (A.D.527)

After the death of Vikramendra Varma, his nephew (son of Deva Varma, brother of Vikramendra Varma) occupied Trikuta and Malaya, the region around Machilipatnam with the help of Harishena, the Vakataka ruler. Madhava Varma, who belonged to a collateral branch of the Vishnukundi family, was originally the governor of Kandarapura (Chezerla in Narasaraopeta) region.

Indrabhattaraka Varma (A.D. c.527-555)

Indrabhattaraka Varma, the son of Vikramendra Varma succeeded in asserting his supremacy and curbed the power of his cousin Mahendra Varma II. He created a new and powerful army comprising many elephants. He turned his attention against rebellious feudatories like Prithvimula who asserted their independence, taking advantage of the weakness of his father Vikramendra Varma. The feudatories formed an alliance against Indrabhattaraka and succeeded in defeating him. One Indradhiraja played an an important role in the victory of the confederates. He is identified as Indra Varma of the Eastern Ganga family. The coalition of the feudatories disintegrated after the first flush of victory. Indrabhattaraka Varma re-organised his forces and succeeded in defeating Prithvimula. Other members of the confederacy consisting of the chiefs of the Mathara, Vasistha Rama Kasyapa and Pitribhakta families were wiped out of existence. After defeating his feudatories, Indrabhattaraka expelled his cousin Madhava Varma III from Trikuta, Malaya and the other regions occupied by him.

The rise of Indrabhattaraka Varma coincided with the rise of the Chalukyas in Western Deccan under Pulakesi I and also with the disappearance of the Vakataka empire. Indrabhatta Varma was defeated by Isana Varma, the Makhari king of the north (South Bihar and U.P.) and within a year of the conflict with the Manukhari king, In-

drabhattaraka died. It is not known whether he died a natural death or was killed in a battle.

Indrabhattaraka Varma's achievements were not confined to the battlefield alone. He was the first Andhra king to maintain and support "ghatikas", academies of education like those existed at Kanchi, in places like Asanapara in the Vengi region. He championed the Vedic religion and styled himself as Parama Maheswara or Parama Brahmanya.

Vikramendra Varma (A.D. c.555-572)

Vikramendra Varma ascended the throne in A.D. 555 following the death of his father Indrabhattaraka Varma. He was also known as Vikramendra Bhattaraka Varma. We get information about his reign from three sources namely (1)the Chikulla plates, (2)Tummalagudem plates (second set) and (3)Kandulapalem plates. At the time of his accession Vikramendra Varma was a boy of 16 years only. The decline of the Vishnukundi power started during his reign. Within four years of his accession Vikramendra Varma lost all the regions conquered by his father. The Nalas of Koraput region in Orissa and the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga asserted their independence and defied the Vishnukundis.

The Pallavas of the south under sinha Varma invaded and occupied Vengi for a while in October A.D. 566 Vikramendra Varma gave his daughter in marriage to Simhavishnu. The alliance between the Pallavas of Kanchi and Vishnukundis was aimed at offsetting the growing power of the Pallava Simha Vishnu of the collateral line ruling over Nellore-Guntur region. The alliance was beneficial to both the dynasties. It helped Simha Vishnu of the mainline of the Pallavas to defeat his relation of the same name ruling over Nellore-Guntur. It helped Madhava Varma IV, the successor of Vikramendra Varma to embark upon the military conquest of the east, without any fear of attack from the Pallavas of the South.

Madhava Varma IV (A.D. c.572-612)

Madhava Varma IV, the last ruler of the Vishnukundi dynasty, ruled from A.D. 572-612. He was the son of Govinda Varma, the brother of Vikramendra Varma. It is not certain whether Vikramendra Varma died without a son or if Madhava Varma usurped the throne following the death of his uncle. On ascending the throne he performed Aswamedha emulating the example of his great-grandfather Madhava Varma II. He transferred his capital from Indrapura in Nalgonda district to Trivara Nagara (Tiruvuru) in Krishna district.

In A.D. 612 Madhava Varma led a military expedition against the Kalinga kingdom of the Gangas who had declared their independence during the rule of Vikramendra Varma II. As soon as he crossed the Godavari river in February A.D. 612. nothing is heard about Madhava Varma and the fate of his expedition. Similarly, nothing is known about the other members of the family. The mystery regarding this episode is yet to be solved.

In A.D. 616 when Pulakesi II the Chalukyan ruler attacked and occupied Pisthapura, he was opposed by one Prithvi Maharaja, an erstwhile feudatory of the Vishnukundis. Probably Madhava Varma IV died during his Kalinga campaign. The Vishnukundi dynasty disappeared suddenly.

The Vishnukundi empire at its zenith of its glory extended from Guntur district in the South to Srikakulam district in the North, from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Bhima river in the West. Like the Satavahanas, Vishnukundis made great contributions to Andhra art and architecture. According to Dubreuil and other scholars the cave temples at Undavalli (Guntur district), Mogalrajapuram and Vijayawada (Krishna district) are the creation of the Vishnukundis. But none of the structural temples of the Vishnukundis are in existence, even though according to Velpuru pillar inscription Madhava Varma II constructed a temple for Vinayaka. The only remaining structure of the period is the famous Kapoteswara temple at Chezerla. According to Longhurst it was originally a Buddhist Chaitya, but later converted into a Siva temple in the 7th or 8th century A.D.

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THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS OF VENGI

Pulakesi II (A.D.609-642) the Chalukyan ruler of Vatapi or Badami in the Bijapur district of Karnataka conquered Vengi in A.D. 611. Some years later, he appointed his brother Kubja (hunchbacked) Vishnuvardhana as the Viceroy of the Vengi region. Vishnuvardhana, with the approval of his brother, started a new dynasty of independent kings known as the Eastern Chalukyas in A.D. 634 , which ruled over Andhra for about five centuries.

The origin of the Chalukyas is obscure. Bilhana, the author of *Vikramanca Charitra*, the court poet of Vikramaditya VI of the Eastern Chalukyas explains the origin of the Chalukyas thus: On one occasion when God Brahma was performing devotion (Sandhya), Indra came to him and complained of the godlessness rife in the world and requested him to create a hero who would chastise the wicked. Thereupon, Brahma looked into his Chulaka, i.e., the hollow of his palm filled with water for pouring out a libation. From it, sprang out a powerful warrior brave enough to protect the three worlds. As the hero was born out of a Chuluka, the family came to be known as the Chalukyas.

The progenitor of the dynasty was one Harita who hailed from Ayodhya. Fifty-nine kings reigned there. Afterwards, Vijayaditya, a prince of the family came down to the Dakshinapatha with a desire to conquer it and attacked Trilochanapallava, but was killed in the battle. Vijayaditya's queen Mahadevi, who was then in the family way, took shelter in the house of a Brahmin named Vishnubhatta Somayaji. She gave birth to a son who was named Vishnuvardhana in honour of her benefactor.

Vishnuvardhana, on learning from his mother about the misfortune of his father, proceeded to a place called Chalukyagiri and worshipped the goddess Nandabhagavati. With her grace, he conquered the Dakshinapatha lying between the Setu in the south and river Narmada in the north. Vishnuvardhana's son was Vijayaditya II and his son Pulakesi I.

CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

The founder of the Chalukya dynasty was Pulakesi I (the great lion). He ruled from A.D. 543 to 566. He conquered and fortified Vatapi or Badami and performed Aswamedha. He was succeeded by his son Kirti Varman I (A.D.566-598) who expanded the kingdom by conquering Konkan and the island of Revati dvipa (Goa). At the time of Kirtivarman's death his son Pulakesi II was a minor. So the kingdom passed into the hands of Mangalesa, the brother of Kirtivarman, who was supposed to be the regent of his nephew Pulakesi II. When Pulakesi II came of age, Mangalesa did not hand over the kingdom to his nephew. Thereupon Pulakesi II gathered an army, defeated and killed his uncle.

Pulakesi II (A.D.609-642)

Pulakesi II was the greatest of the Western Chalukyas. During the first four years of his reign he defeated the Kadambas, the Gangas of Mysore, Latas, Malavas and others. His greatest achievement was his victory over Harsha on the banks of the river Narmada in A.D. 612 Pulakesi made his younger brother, Vishnuvardhana, Yuvaraja before commencing his conquest of the Eastern Deccan. Some years after the conquest ɔf Vengi he made his brother Viceroy of that region with his capital at Pisthapura (modern Pitapuram in the East Godavari district). As noted earlier, Vishnuvardhana started the independent line of the Eastern Chalukyas in A.D. 624.

Vishnuvardhana (A.D.624-642)

The rule of the Eastern Chalukyas over Andhra can be regarded to have commenced with the conquest of vengi by Pulakesi II, but the scholars are not unanimous over the date of this event. According to Dubrieul the event took place in A.D. 611 J.F. Fleet and K.V. Lakshmana Rao accept that date. N. Venkataramanaiah rejects this theory on the ground that Pulakesi II could not have undertaken this conquest within two years of his coronation. He, therefore, places the event about A.D. 616-617. The arguments of Venkataramanaiah do not find favour with the other scholars on the subject who accept the year A.D. 611, since it was corroborated by the Kopparam copper plate granths associated with Pulakesi II.

Pulakesi II left the governance of Vengi in the hands of his military officers, but around A.D. 617 he made his brother Vishnuvardhana the Viceroy of the eastern region. As the Chalukyan empire became too

vast to be governed from Badami, Pulakesi allowed his brother in A.D. 624 to manage the affairs of Vengi independently.

Vishnuvardhana ruled Vengi as an independent sovereign for eighteen years from A.D. 624 to 642. Though a hunchback he was a man of valour and succeeded in capturing many forts of difficult access located on the plains, in water, forests and on hills (Sthala-Jala, Vana Giri, Vishma Durgeshu). He was therefore given the title of Vishma Siddhi (Conqueror of Forts). His other titles were Makaradwaja and Kamadeva.

Vishnuvardhana brought with him to Vengi many military chieftains from Badami. Among them were Kalakampa of the Pattavardhini family who killed a king named Duddara, Buddhavarma who was made chief of the Giri Paschima Sima (Guntur district) and Atavi Durjaya of the illustrious Matsya family who had subdued the enemies of Vishnu Vardhana. He was made chief of Vaddadi and Madugula in the Visakhapatnam district.

Information about the reign of Vishnuvardhana can be gleaned from his two records known as the *Timmapuram Granth* and the *Chipurupalli Granth*. The former granth refers to Vishnuvardhana as Maharaja. From the *Chipurupalli Granth* it is evident that Vishnuvardhana was very near Kalinganagara probably fighting Indravarma III, the Eastern Ganga ruler of Kalinga. After asserting independence from the main branch of his family at Badami, Vishnuvardhana was engaged in series of wars with his enemies on all sides. On the south he had to fight with the Pallavas under Mahendravarma I (A.D.600-625) and on the north with the Eastern Gangas under Indravarma III (A.D.620-655). He was able to extend the boundaries of his kingdom up to the river Nagavali in the Srikakulam district. On the South the kingdom included Karmanadu, bounded by the river Maneru in the Nellore district. On the west it included Telangana. Thus the Vengi kingdom under Vishnuvardhana included the greater part of the present-day Andhra Pradesh excluding Rayalaseema.

Religion

Vishnuvardhana was a devout worshipper of Vishnu, like his ancestors, and called himself Parama Bhagavata or a devout worshipper of Vishnu. It is presumed that the great Vishnu temple of Kunti Madhava at Pithapuram was constructed by him. Though a Hindu, Vishnuvardhana was tolerant towards other faiths. In fact, his queen

Ayyana Mahadevi, was a devout Jain and built the Jaina temple called Nadumba Vasati near Vijayawada.

Visit of Hiuen Tsang

The most important event during the reign of Vishnuvardhana was the visit of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang to Andhra during the years A.D. 639-40. The pilgrim stayed at Dhanyakataka to study the Buddhist Tripitika from two monks named Subhuti and Surya. After staying in Andhra for about two years Hiuen Tsang proceeded to Kanchi.

From the travel record of the pilgrim we get a picture of Andhra in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Hiuen Tsang entered Srikakulam district which then formed part of the Kalinga kingdom. He, however, does not mention the name of the Kalinga ruler (Devendravarma II) or his capital Kalinganagara (present day Mukhalingam in Srikakulam district). He mentions that the region was noted for the black wild elephants which were prized in the neighbouring kingdoms. Buddhism was on the decline in the area and there were only ten monasteries and about 500 monks.

Hiuen Tsang did not mention the name of Vishnuvardhana or that of his capital though he visited the Kingdom of Vengi and its capital. Here, also, Buddhism was on the decline and there were only 20 monasteries with about 3,000 monks. He did not form a good opinion of the people of the region and regards them as violent. Though the pilgrim stayed at Dhanyakataka for a long time he was confused about the identity of the different places in the Guntur region like Dharanikota and Nagarjunakonda. From Guntur he proceeded to Kanchi through the modern districts of Kurnool and Cuddapah (Telugu Chola region). The region was sparsely populated and though the people followed Jainism they were fierce and profligate. The capital of the Chola country was Mudivemu (Peda Mudiyam in Cuddapah district) which is regarded as the village of Vishnubhatta Somayaji in whose house Vishnuvardhana was born. From the Chola country Hiuen Tsang proceeded to Kanchi, the capital of the Pallavas and also the birthplace of Dharmapala Boddhisatva, the teacher of Silabhadra with whom the pilgrim studied in the University at Nalanda.

Vishnuvardhana had two sons namely Jayasimha and Indra-bhattaraka.

Jayasimha Vallabha (A.D.641-73)

After the death of Vishnuvardhana in A.D. 641 his eldest son Jayasimha

Vallabha ascended the throne and ruled for nearly thirty -three years. Jayasimha was a powerful king and completed the conquest of Kalinga which was invaded both by Pulakesi II and Vishnuvardhana. Like his father and grandfather, he took the title of 'Sri Prithvi Vallabha'. In addition he held the title of 'Sarva Siddhi' also. Jayasimha was a patron of learning and established many 'ghatikas' for the promotion of Vedic learning and culture. The *Nidamarru Granth* mentions a Ghatikasthana called Mulaghatika established at Asanapura. The location of Asanapura has not been established. Perhaps it was near Kanteru in the Guntur district.

Jayasimha shifted his capital from Pisthapura to Vengipura. It is identified with the present day villages of Peda Vegi and China Vegi and Denduluru in the West Godavari district. Jayasimha founded the town of Sarvasiddhi in the Visakhapatnam district. It was the seat of his provincial governor of the Elamanchili and Kalinga provinces.

The reign of Jayasimha I is important for another reason. He issued a Telugu inscription in the eighth year of his reign at Vipparla in Guntur district. This is one of the earliest Telugu inscriptions.

Jayasimha died childless and was succeeded by his younger brother, Indraraja, also known as Indrabhattaraka who ruled only for seven days. The cause of the sudden death of Indrabhattaraka and also of his eldest son is not clear. Perhaps they were killed in the war with the Ganga rulers of Kalinga. Indrabhattaraka was referred to as Tyagadhenu on the seal of his Granth.

Vishnuvardhana II (A.D.673-682)

Indrabhattaraka was succeeded by his younger son Vishnuvardhana II who ruled for nine years. He had several titles like Pralayaditya and Vishamasiddhi. He referred to himself as Sarvalokasraya (asylum of all mankind). He was engaged in wars with the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga and Pallavas of Kanchi. He attacked the Pallava ruler Narasimhavarman I when the latter was engaged in war with the Chalukyas of Badami. The *Reyuru Granth* of Vishnuvardhana II suggests that the king was successful in his war with the Pallava ruler and succeeded in annexing a portion of Tondamandalam corresponding to modern Nellore district to the Vengi kingdom.

Mangi Yuvaraja (A.D.682-706)

Vishnuvardhana was succeeded by his son Mangi Yuvaraja in A.D. 682 He is referred to as Vijayaditya in the records of his grandson Vish-

nuvardhana III. He had two queens. By the first queen he had two sons Jayasimha Vallabha and Kokili Vikramaditya. By the second queen Mangi Yuvaraja had one son Vishnu Vardhana III and a daughter Prithvipori. After the death of Mangi Yuvaraja in A.D. 706 his eldest son by the first wife, Jayasimha Vallabha ascended the throne.

Jayasimha Vallabha II (A.D.706-718)

Jayasimha Vallabha II ruled for twelve years. His death was followed by a war of succession between two stepbrothers, Kokili Vikramaditya and Vishnu Vardhana-III.

Vishnu Vardhana III (A.D.719-755)

Vishnuvardhana, also known as Vishnuraja, ruled for thirty seven years from A.D.719 to 755. He had a number of titles like Vishamasiddi, Makaradwaja and Pralayaditya. He was the contemporary of the Pallava ruler Nandivarman II. The Pallava general Udayachandra invaded Nellore region and defeated Prithvi Vyaghra, a Boya chieftain and a feudatory of Vishnuvardhana.

Vishnuvardhana patronised both Brahminism and Jainism. He granted the village Musinikonda for the construction of Vasati or Jaina temple at his capital Bezwada.

Vijayaditya I (A.D.755-772)

The reign of Vijayaditya I marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Eastern Chalukyas. The original home of the Chalukyas at Badami was conquered by Dantidurga, the Rastrakuta in A.D.754. The rise of the Rastrakuta power posed a new challenge to the Eastern Chalukyas from the West. Till then the Eastern Chalukyas had no fear of attack from the west since they were on friendly terms with their kinsmen, the Chalukyas of Badami. Both assisted each other in their wars with the Pallavas of Kanchi. The Pallava empire was dismembered following the death of Nandivarman II in A.D.779. However, this event coincided with the fall of the Western Chalukyas also. For the next two centuries the Rastrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas were involved in a struggle for the supremacy of the Deccan.

Vijayaditya tried to rescue his kinsmen at Badami by joining the forces of the Rastrakuta enemies. However, Krishna Raja I who succeeded Dantidurga sent his son Govinda II against Vengi. At the

confluence of the Musi and Krishna rivers, Vijayaditya made peace with the Rastrakutas by surrendering much treasure and some territory.

Vishnuvardhana IV (A.D.772-808)

The thirty six year reign of Vishnuvardhana IV was a period of continuous war with the Rastrakutas. He took an active part in the Rastrakuta war of succession between Govinda II and his younger brother Dhruva. Vishnuvardhana's interference in the Rastrakutan internal politics worsened the relations between the two powers. From this time onwards, the Rastrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas regarded themselves as the traditional enemies and tried to destroy each other. The Rastrakuta King Dhruva defeated Vishnuvardhana who made peace with him by giving his daughter Sila Mahadevi in marriage to him. Vishnuvardhana IV was succeeded by his eldest son Vijayaditya II. His other sons were Bhima Salukki (Chalukya Bhima) and Nripa Rudra.

Vijayaditya II (A.D.808-847)

Vijayaditya II was one of the greatest rulers of the dynasty. His long rule of four decades was a period of incessant warfare for the extension of the empire. Soon after ascending the throne, Vijayaditya had to face the revolt of his younger brother Bhima Salukki who was helped by the Rastrakuta king Govinda III. The civil war lasted for twelve years and for a time Salukki occupied Vengi and ruled it as a vassal of Govinda III. But Vijayaditya regained Vengi during the temporary absence of Salukki from the kingdom to supervise the construction of the new capital of Govinda III. Salukki tried to reoccupy Vengi but the death of Govinda III in A.D.814 frustrated his plans. Govinda III was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsa I. Vijayaditya II took advantage of the situation and attacked the Rastrakuta kingdom and forced Amoghavarsha to sue for peace.

Vijayaditya was able to re-establish the glory of the dynasty. He assumed a number of titles like Narendra Mrigaraja (Lion amongst Kings) and Maharajadhiraja. He was reputed to have fought 108 battles. He was an ardent devotee of Siva and constructed many temples to the God at all places where battles were fought during the twelve-year civil war. Vijayaditya was succeeded by his son Vishnuvardhana, commonly known as Kalivishnuvardhana who ruled for one year only.

Gunaga Vijayaditya (A.D. 848-891)

Kali Vishnuvardhana was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya III. He was

popularly known as Gunaga Vijayaditya. The epithet Gunaga was derived from one of his titles Gunukenallan meaning "one who is beautiful on account of his virtues."

His long reign lasting for about forty-four years can be divided into three periods. The first period comprising the early years of his reign was spent in making his position secure on the throne by suppressing the Boya chieftains. The second period was involved in frustrating the attempts of his brother Yuddhamalla to usurp the throne. The third period was one of expeditions against the Pallavas and several feudatories.

Soon after ascending the throne Vijayaditya had to launch expeditions against the Boya chieftains who controlled small principalities between Kandukuru in Prakasam district to Narayanavanam in Chittoor district. The expedition was led by a general named Panduranga who succeeded in defeating the insurgents and destroyed their "kottams" or forts. He then proceeded to the border of Tondaimandalam and built a township called Pandurangam on the banks of Pulicat Lake.

After quelling the revolt of the Boya chieftains Vijayaditya had to turn his attention against his brother Yuddhamalla who rose in revolt and pressed his claims for the throne and sought the help of the Rastrakuta king Amoghavarsha I. At the battle of Vengavalli, Amoghavarsha subdued Vijayaditya and forced him to accept the Rastrakuta suzerainty. But after the death of Amoghavarsha in A.D. 880 Vijayaditya reasserted his independence and embarked upon a career of conquest. He defeated and killed Mangi the king of Nolambavadi and defeated Prithvipati, the Western Ganga ruler. He then attacked the Rastrakuta king Krishna II and sacked the city of Kiranapura. This attack was led by the trusted general Panduranga. His other victories include the subjugation of the Dahala or the Chedi kingdom ruled by Kokkala Deva I, father-in-law of the Rastrakuta king Krishna II. He also defeated Devendra Varma, the ruler of Kalinga, and took many elephants as tribute.

To emphasize his victory over his former suzerains the Rastrakutas, Vijayaditya made Krishna II offer him homage personally and surrender the Pali banner with the Ganga-Yamuna crest, the official insignia of the overlord, with which the Rastrakutas were associated.

Vijayaditya had no child of his own. He was succeeded by Chalukya Bhima I, the son of his younger brother.

Chalukya Bhima (A.D. 892-921)

Bhima's accession to the throne was challenged by his paternal uncle Yuddhamalla who was once again supported by the Rastrakuta king

Krishna II who wanted to settle old scores with the Eastern Chalukyas. Krihna II invaded Vengi, defeated Bhima and took him a prisoner. He proclaimed Talaraja, the son Yuddhamalla, and the king Vengi. Bhima, however, managed to escape and with the help of his feudatories regained the throne and assumed the title of Vishnuvardhana. The Rastrakuta king invaded Vengi once again, but his Commander Gunadaya was defeated and killed at the battle of Niravadyapura or modern Nidadavolu in West Godavari district. Chalukya Bhima's younger son who was known by the title "Irimartiganda" also perished in the battle, Chalukya Bhima ruled till A.D. 921.

Chalukya Bhima was a great builder. He founded the town of Chalukya Bhimavaram near Samalkota where he built a temple to Siva and named it after himself as self Chalukya Bhimeswara. Chalukya Bhimavaram is one of the "Panchamaras" of Andhra Desa. The five 'Panchamaras' are : 1) Daksharma, 2) Pitapuram (Chalukya Bhimavaram) both in East Godavari district, 3) Kshirarama (Pala Kollu), 4) Gudipudi (Bhimavaram) West Godavari district and 5) Amaravadi, Guntur district. According to a legend the skull of the demon Tarakasura broke into five pieces and fell in these five places. To commemorate the event temples to Siva were built in those five places. Some scholars believe that te Pancharamas were originally Buddhist monasteries. Another temple for Siva called Partheswara was built by Chatapa one of the feudatories of Chalukya Bhima on the Indrakiladri hill near Vijayawada.

Chalukya Bhima patronised Sanskrit poets like Bhattavamana and musicians like Mallapa and his daughter Challava. Chalukya Bhima died in 921 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son who assumed the title Kollabhiganda Vijayaditya IV. He ruled for Six months only. During that period he defeated Vajrahasta I the Eastern Ganga king of Kalinga. He died at a place called Virajapuri while fighting the Rastrakutas.

Ammaraja I (A.D. 921-927)

The sudden death of Vijayaditya IV caused much confusion in Vengi. The Rastrakutas, as usual, began to meddle in the family quarrels of the Eastern Chalukyas. On the death of Vijayaditya IV his eldest son Ammaraja IV ascended the throne. But his agnates (Dayadis) opposed his accession. The Rastrakuta king Indira III championed the claims of Vikramaditya II, the uncle of Ammaraja I. In the civil war that followed the kingdom suffered greatly and the capital Vengipura was burnt down.

Founding of Rajahmundry (A.D. 921)

After the sack of Vengipura and also Vijayawada, Ammaraja I felt the need to build a new capital strategically located for conducting campaings against his enemies both within the kingdom and outside. So on the northern bank of the river Godavari he founded a new city and named it Raja Mahendir after his title Raja Mahendra. Within a short time Raja Mahendri or Rajahmundry, as it is popularly called, developed as the cultural capital of the Andhras, a position it still retains.

Towards the close of Ammaraja's reign, the Eastern Chalukyas came into conflict with a new emerging power called Nolambas hailing from Eastern Karnataka. In the war against the Nolamba King, Ayyapparaja Ammaraja I lost his life in A.D. 927.

The Period of Confusion (A.D. 927-945)

The death of Ammaraja I in a distant land created anarchy in the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom. Ammaraja's eldest son Karthika Beta or Vijayaditya V, a young boy, ascended the throne and could rule only for fifteen days. He was followed by Talpa or Talaraja, Vikramaditya and Bhimaraja who could rule respectively for one, eleven and eight months each. Two other kings during this period, Yuddhamalla II and Chalukya Bhima II (Ganda Mahendra), ruled respectively for seven and eleven years.

Ammaraja II (A.D. 945-970)

Chalukya Bhima II was succeeded by his younger son Vokauadotua Ammaraja II who assumed the title Raja Mahendra and ruled for twenty-five years. He had an elder stepbrother named Danarnava whose claims to the throne had been overlooked. Krishna III, the Rastrakuta king, espoused the cause of Danarnava. At the same time Badapa and his younger brother Tala II, the son of Yuddhamalla II, began to harass Ammaraja. These two brothers, however, did not survive for a long time. Danarnava was able to seize the throne and force Ammaraja to flee to Kalinga. However, after the withdrawal of the Rastrakuta forces from Vengi Ammaraja came out of his exile and regained the throne. He managed to ruled till A.D. 970.

Danarnava A.D. 970-973

In A.D. 970, Danarnava with the help of the Chieftains of Mudugonda attacked Ammarja II and killed him. However, he was not destined to enjoy power for long. In A.D. 973 he was killed by Jata Choda Bhima, a

Telugu Chola chief of Pedakallu in Kurnool district and a brother-in-law of Ammaraja II.

Jata Choda Bhima (A.D. 973-1000)

After the death of Danarnava, Jata Choda Bhima occupied the throne of Vengi. Danarnava's sons Saktivarama and Vimaladitya fled to Kalinga and sought the assistance of its ruler to regain their kingdom. Jata Choda, therefore, turned his attention to Kalinga and after a long drawn conflict extending over five years succeeded in annexing Kalinga to Vengi kingdom. The brothers Saktivarma and Vimaladitya therefore fled to the Chola kingdom and sought the assistance of Rajaraja. The Chola ruler who nurtured an ambition to extend his sway over the whole of Peninsular India agreed to help the Eastern Chalkyan brothers and cemented this alliance by giving his daughter Kundavai in marraige to Vimaladitya. Saktivarma invaded Vengi with the help of the Chola army. Jata Choda Bhima's general Ekavira, though he offered a stiff resistance, could not stop the progress of the Chola army. Jata Choda made a tactical retreat into Kalinga and allowed Saktivarma to occupy the throne of Vengi and forced Sakti Varma to retreat to Kanchi. Jata Choda then proceeded to Kanchi and held the city for a while. But Rajaraja took over the command and expelled Jata Choda form Kanchi. He then pursued him upto Kalinga and killed him in a battle. Sakti Varma could thus become the ruler of Vengi again.

Sakti Varma I (A.D. 999-1011)

By making Saktivarma the ruler of Vengi, the influence of Rajaraja in the Eastern Deccan became predominant. The western Chalukyas became uneasy at this development. So the Chalukyan king Satyasraya sent an army under the command of Bayala Nambi to invade Vengi. He burnt down the city of Dharanikota and occupied Chebrolu. Rajaraja, in order to divert the attention of the Chalukyan army, invaded Karnataka. The Chola army under the command of the crown prince Rajendra wrought havoc on the Chalukyan kingdom. Satyasraya was forced to recall his army from Vengi. This enabled Sakti Varma to rule Vengi till his death in A.D. 1011.

Vimaladitya (A.D. 1011-1018)

As Saktivarma died without an issue his brother Vimaladitya ascended the throne. His seven year rule was uneventful. By his first wife Kun-

davai, the daughter of Rajaraja, he had a son Rajarajadeva, named after his maternal grandfather. Vimaladitya had another wife named Melama. She was the daughter of Jata Choda Bhima. Vimaladitya married her to bring about a reconciliation with the Telugu Choda family. By her Vimaladitya had a son named Vijayaditya VII.

Rajaraja Narendra (A.D. 1019-1061)

Vimaladitya was succeeded by his eldest son Rajaraja, popularly known as Rajaraja Narendra in A.D. 1019. He married the Chola princess Ammanagadevi, the sister of Rajadhiraja I. In the first decade of his rule Rajaraja Narendra did not face any threat to his sovereignty. However, in A.D. 1030 Vijayaditya VII, his younger half-brother, revolted and succeeded in capturing the throne. He was supported by the Western Chalukya king Jayasimha II, who felt uneasy at the growing influence of the Cholas in Vengi. Vijayaditya VII received help from Madhu Kamarnava III, the Eastern Ganga king who wanted to shake off the suzerainty of the Eastern Chalukyas over Kalinga. Vijayaditya VII could rule for just one year (A.D. 1030-31). Rajaraja Narendra was able to recover his throne with the help of the Cholas and ruled Vengi till his death in A.D. 1061. Rajaraja Narendra had only one son, Rajendra Chola, the famous Kulottunga Chola Deva.

Andhra Mahabharatam

The reign of Rajaraja Narendra marks an important epoch in the history of the Telugu language and literature. He was responsbile for getting the *Mahabharata* rendered into Telugu by his court poet Nannaya. 'The Andhra' *Mahabharata* is the first extant literary work in Telugu. Nannaya could translate only three 'parvas' and was assisted by his friend Naryana Bhatta. Rajaraja honoured Naryana Bhatta also by conferring on him a village called Nandampudi.

Vijayaditya VII (A.D. 1061-1075)

On the death of Rajaraja in A.D. 1061, his younger step brother Vijayaditya VII invaded Vengi and occupied it taking advantage of the absence of his nephew, Rajendra Choda, who was fighting his enemies at Chakrakuta in the North. Vijayaditya placed his son Saktivarma II on the throne. The Cholas, in order to safeguard the interests of Rajendra, sent an army into Vengi and in the ensuring battle Saktivarma II died. The Cholas however failed to dislodge Vijayaditya VII who was supported by

the Eastern Gangas. Rajendra could occupy only some parts of the Vengi kingdom but styled himself as the ruler of Vengi. Meanwhile, swift developments took place in the Chola kingdom. Adhirajendra (A.D. 1066-1070), the son of Vira Rajendra, was killed in an uprising. Rajendra Chola relinquished his claims to Vengi in favour of his paternal uncle Vijayaditya VII and proceeded to Chola country as he had better claims to the Chola throne. His mother Ammanangadevi was the sister of Vi-rarajendra, the father of Adhirajendra. Rajendra was able to put down the anarchy in the Chola country and defeat its enemies like the Pandyas and the Pallavas. Rajendra took the title Kulottunga I and ruled the Chola kingdom from A.D. 1070 to 1118. He united in his person the Eastern Chalukya and the Chola dynasties. A new dynasty called the Chalukya-Cholas thus came into existence in the Chola country through maternal descent.

Vijayaditya VII died in A.D. 1075 and the Eastern Chalukya dynasty came to an end. Kulottunga I who was ruling Chola kingdom annexed Vengi. But he did not shift his capital to Rajamahendri. Gangaikonda Cholapuram continued to be his capital. Andhra lost its seperate identity and became part of the Chalukya Chola kingdom.

Chalukya-Cholas

The death of Vijayaditya VII in A.D. 1075 herealded the end of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. From that time till the conquest of Coastal Andhra by the Kakatiyas of Warangal towards the end of the twelfth century, the Vengi region remained under the control of the Chalukya Cholas who governed the area through their local feudatories. Kulottunga I administered Vengi through Viceroys who were invariably his sons only. On the death of Vijayaditya VII, Kulottunga I sent his son Rajaraja Mummadi Chola as his first viceroy of Vengi. He was replaced by another son, Vira Choda, in A.D.1079. During the Viceroyalty of Virachoda the Western Chalukyas invaded Vengi but the attack was repulsed. Virachoda was recalled to assist his father Kulottunga I against the Pandyas.

Virachoda was sent to Vengi for the second time as Viceroy by about A.D.1088 to subjugate Kalinga. Virachoda, however, failed in his mission, so Kulottunga I himself took the command and brought Kalinga under his control. The Kalinga exploits of Kulottunga I are graphically described in a long Tamil poem *Kalingattu Parani* composed by Jayan-gonder.

After the Kalinga campaign Kulottunga I conferred autonomy on a number of "mandalikas" or feudatories. They included Cholas of Velanadu, Haihayas of Konamandala (Konaseema), Kondapadumatis of Nadendla, the Parichchedis of Omgerumarga (Ongole) and the Kota chiefs of Dharanikota. This was a wise move on the part of Kulottunga I. He was aware that the Vengi region cannot be controlled from the distant capital Gangaikonda Cholapuram. By elevating the status of the local chieftains to that of feudatories he ensured the safety of the kingdom from the attacks of the Western Chalukyas. The "Mandalikas" became the de facto rulers of their respective regions but acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Chalukya-Cholas. Among the mandalikas, the Durjayas of Velanadu, popularly known as the Velanati Chodas, were the most powerful and well known.

The Durjayas of Velanadu

The Durjayas of Velanadu were the foremost among the feudatories of the Eastern Chalukyas. They remained faithful to their masters till their end. After the emergence of the Chalukya-Chola dynasty, the Durjayas supported their new masters and won their trust. At the height of their power, they controlled entire coastal Andhra from Mahendragiri in Srikakulam district to Srikalahasti in Chittoor district.

The Durjayas belonged to Chaturthanvaya or the fourth caste, i.e., the sudras. They traced their origin to a mythical prince Durjaya who flourished in the 3rd century A.D. The family came into prominence during the rule of Kulottunga I. One of the members of the family, by the name of Gonka, distinguished himself as a great soldier and attracted the attention of Kulottunga I who raised him to the rank of Samasthasenadhipathi (Commander-in-chief) in A.D.1076. Gonka remained loyal to the Chalukya-Cholas and prided himself on being the "Chalukya rajya mula sthambhaya manalu" (the Chief pillar of the Chalukyan kingdom. He repulsed the attack on Vengi by the rulers of Kalinga and Kuntala. Pleased with his services Kulottunga I conferred on him the rulership of 6,000 villages (Shatsahasra mandalas) in the Velanadu region, i.e., the region between the rivers Krishna and Penna. Gonka I died on the battlefield of Kalinga in A.D.1089 and was succeeded by his son Rajendra named after his sovereign Rajendra Chola.

After the death of Kulottunga in A.D.1118, his son Vikrama Chola became the ruler. By that time Vengi region came under the control of the Western Chalukyas and Velanati Cholas were forced to accept the overlordship of Vikramaditya VI, the Western Chalukyan king. The

death of Vikaramaditya VI in A.D.1126 provided an opportunity for the Chalukya-Cholas to reconquer Vengi. Vikrama Chola sent his son Kulottunga II to drive away the Western Chalukyas from Vengi. The Velanati Chief Gonka II led the campaign. A great battle was fought on the banks of the river Godavari in which the Western Chalukyas were defeated. Some of the "Mandalikas" like Haihayas of Palnadu supported the Western Chalukyas, but the Velanati Chodas remained faithful to the Chalukya-Chodas and helped Vikarama Chola in re-establishing the authority of his dynasty over Vengi. Vikrama Chola was succeeded by his son Kulottunga who ruled from A.D. 1134 to 1150. Kulottunga II raised the status of Gonka II to that of an independent ruler. The inscription at Draksarama and Nidubrclu state that Velanati Gonkaraja II having defeated the rulers of Karnataka, Kuntala, Kalinga occupied Andhra with Samrajya Chihnah (Insignia of Emperor). The same is testified to by a Telugu poetical work *Keyabahura Charitramu* by Manchana. From this it is evident that the Velanati chiefs exercised sovereignty over the entire coastal Andhra region.

The rise of the Velanati Cholas was not liked by the other mandalikas. This resulted in many uprisings against them. To consolidate their authority, the Velanati chiefs forged marriage alliances with other mandalikas. Rajendra Choda, son of Gonkaraja II, married Ankama, the sister of Kondapadumati Chief Buddharaja. Similarly Mailamba, daughter of Gonkaraja II was given in marriage to the Haihaya chief of Palnadu.

Kulottunga II was succeeded by his son Rajaraja II who ruled during the years A.D.1151-1173. During his reign the decline of the Chalukya-Chola reign began but the Velanati chiefs invaded Kalinga and advanced as far as Cuttack. Within Andhra however, some of the mandalikas like Vijayaditya III of the Chalukyas of Pithampuram rebelled against the Velanati Chodas and asserted their independence. The decline of the Chalukya-Chola authority and the frequent quarrels among the mandalikas created political anarchy in coastal Andhra and paved the way for the extension of the Kakatiya rule over that region.

War of Palnadu

One of the great civil conflicts of the Middle Ages which has created an indelible impression on the minds of the Andhras was the Palnadu war. The great Telugu poet Srinatha chronicled it in his beautiful poetical work *Palanati Vira Charitra*. The importance of the war lies in the fact that it highlights the social awakening and the religious

revival that had come over Andhra following the spread of Viravaishnavism and Virasaivism. Further, it reflects the chaotic political situation of the time. The Velanati Chodas lost their former power and glory and the reign of Gonkaraja III (A.D.1182-1185) marks the beginning of their downfall. This is reflected in his inability to put an end to the internecine quarrels of his Palnadu feudatories.

Palnadu, the semi-arid region of the present day Guntur district, was under the control of the local chieftains belonging to the Haihaya family. The Palnadu chieftain Alugu Bhupati or Anuguraja increased his political standing by marrying Mailamba, the daughter of the Velanati king Gonkaraja II. Anuguraja had two other wives known as Bhuramadevi and Viravidya devi. Mailamba's son was Nalakama or Nalagama. Viravidyadevi's three sons were Pedamalideva, Pinamalideva and Balamalideva. The four sons of Bhuramadevi were Kamaraju, Narasingaraju, Jattiraju and Perumalluraju.

Due to palace intrigues the sons frequently quarrelled and made the life of the king miserable. After the murder of Anuguraja, Nalagama became the king of Palnadu in A.D. 1170. Being weak, he became a tool in the hands of the Chief Minister Recherla Brahma Nayudu of the Velama caste who championed Viravaishnavism and tried to create a new social order by eradicating the caste system. However, Nalagama, like his ancestors was a devotee of Siva, so he did not like Brahmanayudu's propagation of Viravaishnavism. Brahma Nayudu in the meantime acquired great influence over the king's stepbrothers and forced the king to assign a small territory to Pedamalideva and his brothers.

About this time Aravilli Nagamma, a woman of great ability and wealth belonging to the Reddi caste acquired considerable influence at the court of Palnadu. Within a short time, she was hailed as Nayakuralu (the Leader). She became the sworn enemy of Brahma Nayudu and opposed his social and religious policies. The dissensions in the royal family became more acute and the story of the Mahabharata was repeated on a smaller scale in Palnadu. Pedamalideva, who was assigned a small piece of territory, prospered under the guidance of Brahma Nayudu and built a capital called Macherla. Nayakuralu hatched a plan to strip Malideva of his small kingdom. So she invited him to a cock-fighting competition at Gurajala, the capital of Palnadu. Malideva wagered his kingdom and lost the competition and was forced to go into exile for seven years. After the end of the seventh year of exile, Brahma Nayudu demanded the restoration of the kingdom of his

master Malideva. When Nalakama refused to comply with the demand, a great war ensued at Karempudi on the banks of the river Naguleru. Nalagama sought the assistance of many chiefs with whom he had matrimonial and friendly relations. Those who responded to his appeal included the Velanatis, Kalachuris, Kotas, Kakatiyas and Hoysalas. The battle lasted for three days in A.D.1185. According to one tradition, Brahma Nayudu and his partisans were victorious. But the truth seems to be otherwise. Nalagama was victorious and forced Brahma Nayudu to sue for peace. Smitten with grief at the death of his kinsmen and the members of royal family, he left Palnadu for ever on a pilgrimage. Nagamma also left Palnadu for good.

The Battle of Palnadu sealed the fate of the Velanati family. Their inability to control the feudatories and to restore peace and order damaged their prestige. The Kakatiyas exploited the situation to their own advantage and annexed coastal Andhra by the end of the twelfth century.

Administration

By the time the Eastern Chalukyas established themselves in Andhra, monarchy became the normal form of government. The kings relied on the members of the families of the different military chieftains who came to Vengi along with the Eastern Chalukyas and remained faithful to the dynasty. Two such families were those of the Pattavardhinis and Durjayas. Kalakampa of the Pattavardhini family came to Vengi along with Kubja Vishnuvardhana and killed a king named Daddara and seized his insignia of kingship. Similarly Durjayas of Velanadu supported the Eastern Chalukyas since their inception and remained loyal to the family till their disappearance. The king depended on the loyal feudatories for military operations and the administration of the provinces. The feudatories were known as "Mandaleswaras". Sometimes they were referred to as "Mahasamantas" and "Mahamandalika".

Yuvaraja

Next to the king was the Yuvaraja or the Crown Prince. He ascended the throne after the death of the king. Normally the eldest son of the chief queen was designated the Yuvaraja, but sometimes his claims were overlooked in favour of a younger son by a junior wife. The Yuvaraja was associated in the administration and sometimes led the army on behalf of the king. As the Eastern Chalukya kings had more than one wife, palace intrigues played a significant part in the nomination of

a Yuvaraja. Succession to the throne was neither automatic nor peaceful.

Ministers

The king was the head of the administration and wielded immense power. To emphasize their glory and divinity, the Eastern Chalukya kings assumed various titles like "Maharajadhiraja" and "Paramabhattaraka." The actual administration was in the hands of the various ministers who had different titles like Amatya, Pradhani, Mantri, etc. The details regarding their powers and functions are not clear. Ministers were drawn from various castes but the majority of them were Brahmins.

Territorial Divisions

Nadu or Mandalam: The kingdom was divided into different 'Nadus' like Velanadu, Kammanadu, etc. They were also known as Mandalams. Nadus or Mandalams were sub-divided into Visayas or district. The lowest unit was the 'Grama'.

Army

The king was the chief of the army. But the actual command was entrusted to Sarva Senadhipathi or Commander-in-chief. The army officers hailed from different castes including the Brahmins. One of the generals of Chalukya Bhima I was Rangadhi Kakkara — a Brahmin. The elephant corps of Vimaladitya was commanded by a Brahmin named Nripa Kama. This elephant corps were known as Gaja Sahini or Hasti kosa. The Kalinga region, i.e., north coastal Andhra, was noted for its huge black elephants. The infantry was known as the Virakosa.

Capital

The Eastern Chalukyas had different capitals. During the early years of their rule Pisthapura or modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari district functioned as the capital. Later, the capital was shifted to Vengipura in West Godavari district. For sometime Vijayawada functioned as their capital. During the rule of Ammaraja II, a new capital called Raja Mahendri, the present Rajahmundry, was built on the northern bank of the river Godavari.

Religion

Hinduism

When the Eastern Chalukyas commenced their rule in Andhra, Hinduism was in ascendency and Jainism only had some pockets of influence in urban centres and among the rich. Kubja Vishnuvardhana called himself Paramabhattaraka or a devout worshipper of Vishnu. But he tolerated other religions, especially Jainism. His queen Ayyana Mahadevi was a Jain and built a Jaina temple called Nadumba Vasati at Vijayawada. Her great grandson Vishnuvardhana III granted, the village Musinikonda for its maintenance. Jayasimha I, the son and successor of Vishnuvardhana was a great patron of Brahminical religon and upheld Varnasramadharma. He revived the Aswamedha which had fallen into disuse for a long time. To promote Brahminical learning he founded and patronised many Ghatikas or colleges. The *Nidamarru Granth* mentions the Ghatikasthana called Mula Ghatika at Asanapura. The early kings like Jayasimha I, Vishnuvardhana II and Mangi Yuvaraja were themselves Vedic scholars and they encouraged Vedic learning by granting to learned Brahmins Agraharas or rent free villages and Brahma deya or tax-free lands.

Hiuen Tsang noted the ascendency of Hinduism and recorded that there were more than hundred temples in Andhra. The later kings of the dynasty like Anamaraja II and Vimaladitya patronised Saivism. The Velanadu chiefs also extended their patronage to Saivism. As a result temples for Siva were richly endowed and new ones were built. Draksarama, Srisailam and Tripurantakam became the strongholds of Saivism. Towards the end of the Eastern Chalukya rule, Virasaivism entered into Andhra from Karnataka but it failed to attract the masses or elicit the patronage of the rulers. Along with the worship of Siva, the worship of Sakti or the mother Goddess became popular. Saktipithas like those of Manikyamba in Draksharama, Braharamba in Srisailam and Jogulamba in Amalapuram became very popular. Another important Saktipitha is Kanakadurga of Vijayawada.

Vaisnavism had its pockets of influence around Vishnu temples in places like Simhachalam, Srikurmam and Mangalagiri. Brahma Nayudu of Palnadu was a strict adherent of Ramanuja's philosophy and converted many Dalits (Panchamas) to Vaishnavism.

Buddhism

Buddhism was in a state of decline. Hiuen Tsang noted that there were

only twenty monasteries in Andhra with about 3000 monks. One of the causes for the decline of Buddhism in Andhra was that it lost the royal patronage after the fall of the Isvakus. The later rulers, like the Vishnukundis, Brihat Palayanas and Salankayanas worked for the revival of Hinduism. By the time the Eastern Chalukyas established their rule in Andhra, Hinduism was well on the way to recovery and was able to absorb Buddhism into its fold.

Another reason for the decline of Buddhism was the corruption and immorality that had crept into the Buddhist order. The Sangharamas or the monasteries where the monks and nuns resided became the den of immorality. The immoral and licentious life led by the monks and the nuns created a feeling of repulsion among the people towards Buddhism. This fact is evident by the name, "Lanja dibbalu" or the mounds of prostitutes by which the ancient Buddhist viharas and stupas in Andhra are referred at present. The Buddhist viharas and stupas were converted into Hindu temples and Buddhism disappeared from Andhra.

Jainism was never a force to be reckoned with in Andhra. It had only a few pockets of influence. Though the Eastern Chalukyas tolerated Jainism, it could not withstand the onslaught of Virasaivism and disappeared from Andhra unwept and unhonoured.

Society

With the ascendency of Hinduism, the "Varnasrama" dharma and the fourfold division of society into castes had come to stay. However, the Sudras were able to climb the social ladder and wielded political power, and many Mandalikas belonged to that caste.

Migrations

One noticeable feature of the period was the immigration of the people from the north, west and south into andhra. Kubja Vishnuvardhana brought with him many military chieftains and their followers who settled in Vengi. Similarly, during the reign of Narendra Mrigaraja and Vijayaditya III many brahmins from the north especially from Mathura and Kanyakubja left their homes in the wake of the Muslim invasion of North India and settled in Andhra where they were welcomed and given Agraharas and Brahmadeya lands to foster Vedic learning and culture among the local population. Chalukya Bhima I also encouraged the immigration of brahmins of the north into Andhra.

During the Chalukya Chola rule many Tamil brahmins migrated into Andhra as royal officials and they were encouraged by the rulers to

settle down in the fertile regions like Konaseema. These Tamil migrant brahmins form a separate sect of Andhra brahmins, known as Dravidas. They are divided into several groups known as Aramas, Pudi and Perur.

Apart from the brahmin immigrants from the north and south, many Kshatriyas and Sudras from Western India migrated into Andhra when the Rastrakutas and Chalukyas of Kalyani made repeated invasions into Andhra and occupied some of its territories.

The Vaishyas known as Komatis are sub-divided into two groups known as the Gaura Komatis (Arya Vaishyas) and Kalinga Komatis. Arya Vaishyas are believed to have migrated into Andhra from Gauda or Bengal. It is interesting to note that the Arya Vaishyas are vegetarians even though the Bengalis, including brahmins, take fish. The Kalinga Komatis who are concentrated in the north coastal Andhra are non-vegetarians.

The sudras who formed the bulk of the population were agriculturists, but as noted earlier some of them had risen to the ranks of Mandalikas.

With the rise of Virasaivism and Viravaishnavism there was a social awakening in Andhra and attempts were made to improve the position of the Dalits. Brahma Nayudu threw open the gates of the Chennakesavaswamy temple to them and adopted Kannamadasa, a Dalit, as his son.

The Andhra society was in a ferment and all castes were affected in some way or other by the social awakening generated by the religious reformers like Basava and Ramanujacharya. The Brahmins no longer confined themselves to religion and learning only. Some of them took up secular avocations and they came to be known as "niyogis". The others who continued to confine themselves to religious pursuits were known as Vaidikis.

Women played a notable part in religious and secular affairs. As noted earlier Nagamma, a woman belonging to the fourth caste, was able to play a leading role in the politics of Palnadu, and she was hailed as Nayakuralu or leader.

To Sum up

The rule of the Eastern Chalukyas is of special interest in Andhra history. It was during their rule that the Andhras emerged as a separate people with a distinct personality of their own. Again, it was during their rule that Telugu evolved itself into a separate language and rulers like

Rajaraja Narendra fostered its literature. It was at his insistence that Nannaya rendered into Telugu the first three cantos of the *Mahabharata*. Further the Eastern Chalukya rule saw the triumphant return of Hinduism, overthrowing both Buddhism and Jainism.

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THE KAKATIYAS OF WARANGAL

A.D.1000-1323

The Kakatiyas are one of the major dynasties that ruled over Andhra. To begin with, they were the feudatories of the Eastern Chalukyas but later shifted their allegiance to the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. Taking advantage of the disturbed political condition of the Deccan in the eleventh century, the Kakatiyas established their power at Warangal by about A.D. 1000. Gradually, they brought under their sway the present Andhra Pradesh, parts of Orissa and Tamil Nadu. Their rule ended in A.D. 1323. The three hundred and twenty-three year rule of the Kakatiyas can be divided into two periods. The first period extended from A.D. 1000 to 1157. During this period they established and consolidated their position in the Eastern Telangana region. The second period A.D. 1158 to 1323 saw their rise and downfall. The outstanding rulers of the period included Ganapati Deva (1198-1262), Rudramba (1262-1289) and Prataparudra (1289-1323).

The Kakatiyas were out-and-out an indigenous power sprung from the fourth caste. They liberated Andhra from the rule of the non-Telugus especially from Karnataka. For three centuries they shaped Andhra history and civilisation and fostered the Telugu language and literature.

Origin

The origin of the Kakatiyas has been highly debated. According to some the name Kakatiya was derived from Kakati, a local goddess worshipped by the rulers of Warangal. However, the Kakatiya records make no mention of this goddess, though the Telugu work *Kridabhiramamu* makes a mention of the existence of the goddess Kakati in the fort of Warangal. Others contend that the term "Kakatiya" was derived from a town named Kakati. This theory cannot be accepted since there is no town or village by that name in Andhra.

Genealogy

From the Bayyaram epigraph the genealogy of the family can be traced to one Venna of the Durjaya family. He was followed by Gunda I,

Gunda II and Gunda III. They functioned as the commanders of the Rastrakutas. Gunda III's son Erra was raised to the status of a feudatory by the Rastrakutas who conferred on him the Koravi region (Madhira area of Khammam district and Manukota (present Mahboobabad area of the Warangal district). Erra was succeeded by his son Beta. Very little is known about him. He was succeeded by his son Gunda IV (Pindigunda). He was also known as Kakartya Gundya. On orders from his sovereign, the Rastrakuta king Krishna III, Gundya helped Dhanarnava to drive out Ammaraja II and secure the throne of Vengi. Dhanarnava issued the *Mangallu Granth* in A.D. 956 acknowledging the help received from Gunda IV (Kakastya Gundya). Meanwhile the political situation in the Deccan became more complex. Tailapa II overthrew the Rastrakutas and established the hegemony of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. In Vengi Jatachoda Bhima killed Dhanarnava. Taking advantage of the political confusion, Gunda IV proclaimed his independence. He faced resistance locally from the original rulers of the area, namely Mudigonda Chalukyas who sought the assistance of Tailapa II. The Kalyani ruler sent Viriyala Erra to oust Gunda IV. In the battle that ensued Gunda IV lost his life. The Kakatiya family was about to be obliterated. At this moment an interesting development took place. Viriyala Erra's wife, Kamavasani, took a liking for Beta, the younger son of Gunda IV. She prevailed on her husband to use his influence with the Western Chalukyas to secure the fief of Anumakonda Visaya for Beta. Thus the Kakatiya dynasty secured a fresh lease of life due to the good offices of Kamavasani. Beta I agreed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Western Chalukyas. This event took place about A.D. 1000.

Beta I (A.D.1000-1030)

Beta I ruled Anumakonda Visaya for thirty years as the feudatory of the Western Chalukyas. Anumakonda Visaya included parts of the present Warangal district and Sanigaram region of Karimnagar district.

Prola I (A.D.1030-1075)

Beta I was succeeded by his son Prola I in A.D. 1030. He assisted his suzerain Someswara I in his wars against the Chakrakuta ruler and defeated its ruler Dharavasu. Pleased with his services, Someswara I made permanent the grant of Anumakonda Visaya to Prola I and his successors. He allowed Prola I to issue independent coinage and also use the "Varaha", emblem of the Western Chalukyas. Prola bore the title

Arigaja kesari (Lion to Elephant-like enemies). Prola developed irrigation facilities by constructing many tanks. One such tank, Kesamudram, is still in existence.

Beta II (A.D.1075-1108)

Prola I was succeeded by Beta II who ruled from 1075 to 1108. At the time of his accession, civil war broke out in the western Chalukyan kingdom. On the death of Someswara I, his eldest son Someswara II (1068-1076) ascended the throne, but his position was challenged by his younger brother Vikramaditya who sought assistance from the different vassals of the kingdom. Beta supported Vikramaditya who succeeded in ascending the throne of Kalyani in 1076. Vikramaditya VI (1076-1127) rewarded Beta II by conferring on him two titles *Vikrama-chakri* and *Tribhuvana malla*. Further he allowed Beta II to occupy Sabbimandalam (Karimnagar) and Mudigonda (Khammam) the neighbouring regions of Anumakonda Visaya. Beta had an able general and minister by name of Vaija. It was mainly due to his diplomatic skill that Beta was able to secure Sabbi mandalam. The region was originally given to Jaggadeva, the Paramara chief by Vikramaditya VI. As noted earlier the region was subsequently given to Beta. Jaggadeva thereupon attacked Anumakonda in 1107. He was assisted by Medaraja and his brother Gundaraja the Polavasa (Jagatyala region of Karimnagar district) chiefs. The attack was repulsed by Prola, the son of Beta II. Beta II was a patron of Saivism and constructed many temples to Siva at Anumakonda and other places.

Durga (1108-1116)

Beta II was succeeded by his eldest son Durga who ruled for a short period of eight years only. He assumed two titles *Chalamartiganda* and *Tribhuvanamalla*. From the Kazipet inscription we learn that he made grants to his preceptor Rameswara Pandita. Durga's rule came to an end abruptly and his brother Prola ascended the throne.

Prola II (1116-1157)

Prola, the younger son of Beta II, ascended the throne in 1116 superceding the claims of his nephew (the son of Durga). He, however, granted asylum to him. Prola II was the important king of the early Kakatiyas. His exploits are described at length in the Anumakonda inscriptions of his son Rudradeva. As noted earlier, he defeated Jaggadeva, the Paramara chief and his allies Medaraja and Gundaraja,

the Polavasa chiefs. His other exploits include his victory over Tailapa, the younger brother of Someswara III (1127-1138) who plotted against his brother. Tailapa was sent as prisoner to Kalyani. After Prola's death, Tailapa tried to win back his lost possessions, but "is said to have died of dysentery caused by the fear of Rudra, the son of Prola." Prola II defeated other Telangana feudatories who revolted against the Chalukyan rule.

After consolidating his position in the entire Telangana, Prola II visited the shrine of Mallikarjuna at Srisailam to offer prayers. Prola remained loyal to Jagdekamalla II (1138-51) the successor of Someswara III, the Western Chalukyan ruler of Kalyani. By his steadfast loyalty to his chief at Kalyani, Prola strengthened the position of his dynasty and laid the foundation for its subsequent greatness. He married Muppamamba, the sister of Durgaraja, the Natavadi chief. He had five sons, Rudradeva, Mahadeva, Harihara, Ganapati and Durgaraja. According to an inscription at Draksarama, Prola II died at the hands of Chodayaraja, the chief of the Kota family in A.D.1157.

Imperial Kakatiyas

Rudradeva (A.D. 1158-1195)

Rudradeva, also known as Prataparudra I who succeeded his father Prola II in 1158 A.D. was the first king of the dynasty to overthrow the subordinate position of the Kakatiyas as the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani and assume independence. He inaugurated Kakatiya imperialism which led to the expulsion of the non-Telugu rulers from Andhra and its political unification. When Rudradeva came to power the political situation in the Western Chalukyan empire was very critical.

Jagadekamalla (1138-51) was overthrown by his brother Tailapa III who, however, failed to bring the entire empire under his control. In some parts of the empire Jagadekamalla was able to hold sway, but the situation was further complicated when Kalachuri Bijjala overthrew Tailapa III and occupied the throne of Kalyani. Rudradeva felt that he could not be a feudatory to any one of these three contestants and felt that the time was ripe to declare his independence. Bijjala meanwhile, wanted to reassert the position of the Western Chalukyas in Telangana. So he contacted the Polavasa (Jagatyala) chief Medaraja and both agreed to undermine the position of Rudradeva at Anumakonda. Bijjala sent an army under the command of Kumara Maitangi to Patancheru. Medaraja also made preparations for attack on Anumakonda.

To face this dual threat Rudradeva assembled his army at Akanuru.

The chief of Naganuru, Dommaraja also joined hands with Medaraja. However, his army was routed and Rudradeva proceeded towards Polavasa. Unable to face the army of Rudradeva, Medaraja crossed the Godavari river and escaped into the jungles beyond. Noticing these turn of events, Bijjala felt that discretion was the better part of valour and began to withdraw his army from Patancheru. Rudradeva pushed him up to his capital Kalyanakataka but did not lay siege to it. The man responsible for this happy turn of events for Rudradeva was his minister Gangadhara. He was made the chief of Sabbi mandala (Karimnagar district).

The significance of the above victories cannot be over estimated. As Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry rightly pointed out, the Kannada rule in Andhra from the 7th century A.D. came to an end. The first independent Andhra kingdom after the evolution of the Telugu language was established.

Conquest of Kanduru

Having consolidated his position in Northern and Western Telangana, Rudradeva turned his attention towards Kanduru (Nalgonda) and Palamuru (Mahboobnagar district). Udayachoda, the chief of Kanduru made peace with Rudradeva by giving his daughter Padmavati in marriage to him. Rudradeva allowed his father-in-law to rule over Kanduru as his vassal. To commemorate this victory Rudradeva constructed at Panagallu (Nalgonda) a big irrigation tank and named it Rudrasamudram. Having brought Nalgonda under his control, Rudradeva crossed the Krishna river in the south and annexed Srisailam, Tripurantakam and other places in Rayalaseema.

Coastal Andhra

Rudradeva felt that time had come to extend the kingdom into coastal Andhra which was under the control of various chiefs like the Cholas of Velanadu, Haihaiyas of Palnadu, Kotas of Amaravati. He intervened in the Palnadu war (1176-1182) on behalf of Nalagama and sent a force to assist Nayakuralu. As a result of the war, the position of the Velanati Chodas weakened considerably. Capitalising on the situation Rudradeva annexed Dharanikota and other regions in Velnadu (Guntur district).

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1. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Kaktiya Charitra* (Telugu), Hyderabad, 1977, p. 25.

Death of Rudradeva

While Rudradeva was expanding his empire in coastal Andhra, the Yadava king Jaitrapala or Jaitugi (1191-1210) invaded the Kakatiya dominion in 1195. Rudradeva died while opposing the invaders. Since he had no issue he was succeeded by his younger brother, Mahadeva.

Rudradeva was a great patron of art and literature. He constructed the majestic Rudreswara (Thousand pillared) temple at Anumakonda. His trusted minister Vellaki Gangadhara built the Prasanna Kesava temple at Anumakonda and excavated a tank. Rudradeva was the author of the Sanskrit work *Nitisara*. He also extended patronage to Saivite scholars like Palkurki Somanatha. One of the notable events of his reign was the shifting of the capital from Anumakonda to Warangal.

Mahadeva (1195-1198)

Mahadeva, who succeeded his brother Rudradeva, ruled only for three years. He died while besieging the Yadava capital of Devagiri.

Ganapatideva (1199-1262)

Ganapatideva was the greatest of the Kakatiya rulers. He accompanied his father Mahadeva when the latter besieged Devagiri, the Yadava capital. As noted earlier, Mahadeva was killed outside the walls of Devagiri and Ganapatideva was taken prisoner by the Yadavas. The news of the death of Mahadeva and the arrest of Ganapatideva created great chaos in the Kakatiya kingdom. Many feudatories of the Kakatiyas rose in revolt and tried to assert their independence, but the loyal general of the Kakatiyas, Racharla Rudra, put down these revolts and looked after the kingdom. Ganapatideva was released in 1202 and allowed to return to his kingdom.

In the course of his long reign extending over sixty years, Ganapatideva brought a great part of contemporary Andhra Pradesh under his control.

Annexation of Velanadu

Though a part of Velanadu came under the control of the Kakatiyas during the reign of Rudradeva, other chiefs of the area like the Kotas, Kondapadumatis asserted their independence following the death of Mahadeva. In the Diviseema region at the mouth of the Krishna river, Pinachodi of the Ayya family proclaimed his independence with the

connaivance of Prithiviswara, the Velanadu chief. So in 1202 Ganapatideva sent his general Chamunda to conquer the area. The general conquered the Divi island and the adjoining area and plundered the treasury. Pinachodi made peace with the Kakatiyas by giving his daughters Naramamba and Peramamba in marriage to Ganapatideva. The Velanadu chief Prithviswara, who withdrew towards the Godavari region, attacked the Kakatiyas during the years 1206-1208, but he died fighting. The Kakatiya ruler was assisted by Tikkabhupala of Nellore.

Conquest of Nellore

After annexing Velanadu into his kingdom, Ganapatideva turned his attention towards Nellore whose rulers, the Telugu Chodas, functioned as the vassals of the Cholas. The ruler of Nellore Manumasiddi I was overthrown by his younger brother Nallasiddi with the help of the Cholas. Manumasiddi's son Tikkabhupala, as seen earlier, assisted Ganapatideva in his war against Prithviswara the Velanadu chief. As a reward for his services, Ganapatideva installed Tikkabhupala as the ruler of Nellore expelling Nallasiddi. In this connection the Kakatiyas won a spectacular victory by defeating the combined forces of Cholas, Sevanas and Karnatas. Tikkabhupala ceded to the Kakatiyas, the western part of his kingdom comprising the present Cuddapah district. Ganpatideva appointed his Kayasta general Gangaya Sahini as the governor of the region.

Tikkabhupala died in A.D. 1248. His son Manumasiddi II ascended the throne but his position was challenged by Vijayaganda Gopala who was supported by the Cholas and Hoyasalas. From Cuddapah the governor Gangaya Sahini was expelled. Thus the position of the Kakatiyas in Southern Andhra was endangered. At this critical juncture Manumasiddi II sent his court poet Tikkana Somayaji to Warangal to secure the help of Ganapatideva. At Warangal Tikkana completed the translation of the fifteen parvas (cantos) of the *Mahabharata* into Telugu, left unfinished by Nannaya. He, however, did not translate the unfinished portion of the Aranya parva. It was subsequently translated by Yerrapragada in the fourteenth century. Tikkana's mission was a success. Ganapatideva led an army against the Cholas and Hoyasalas and conquered Kanchi. Manumasiddi II was reinstated as the ruler of Nellore. Ganapatideva reconquered Cuddapah, Anantapur and Chintamani in Kolar district.

Wars against Kalinga

After annexing Velanadu and Vengi regions, the Kakatiyas invaded the Kalinga kingdom under the control of the Eastern Gangas. Their forces marched as far as Aska, near Berhampur in the Ganjam district of Orissa. However, the hold of the Kakatiyas over Kalinga did not last long. The Eastern Ganga king, Ananga Bhima (1211-38) regained the territory up to Draksharama in the East-Godavari district.

War with the Pandyas

The last years of Ganapatideva were not happy. In the south, the Pandyas came to power. Jatavarma Sundara Pandya I (1251-68) extended the Pandya power over most of South India. After occupying Kanchi, he proceeded to Nellore and defeated the combined armies of Kakatiyas and Manumasiddi II at Muthukuru and performed Virabhisekha ceremony. This was the last war and the first defeat of Ganapatideva. Soon after he relinquished power in favour of his eldest daughter Rudramba. According to some writers he died in 1262, but some others contend that he lived for six more years.

Estimate

Ganapatideva was the greatest ruler of the Kakatiya dynasty. He was a multifaceted personality. He was a great general who lost only one war and that, too, towards the end of his career. He extended the empire in all directions. In spite of his engagements in numerous wars he did not neglect the administration. As a matter of fact he introduced many innovations in the village administration. Till his time the village accountants (Karanams) belonged to the Viswa brahmin (goldsmith) caste. As they used to interfere in religious and political disputes, Ganapatideva removed them and appointed Brahmins in their place . The brahmins so appointed came to be known as Niyogi brahmins. Till recently the Niyogi brahmins functioned as Karanams in most of the Andhra vilages, especially in the coastal region.

Another praiseworthy aspect of Ganapatideva's administration was the attention bestowed on the development of irrigation and commerce. The great irrigational tanks like Ramappa, Parakala, Ghanapuram built by Ganapatideva and his successors are still in existence.

Motupalli Abhaya Sasanam

Ganapatideva also paid great attention to the development of trade and commerce. In this connection, it is important to mention his promulgation of "abhaya sasana" at the port of Motupalli. Motupalli was an important port of Andhra in the ancient and medieval periods. Many foreign vessels used to visit this port. After the fall of the Velanadu rulers, there was confusion in the mid-coastal region of Andhra. Taking advantage of this confusion, the local chieftains started to collect vexatious customs and other taxes from the foreign ships and local merchants. As a result, the port fell into disuse and trade languished. After subjugating the Velanadu area, Ganapatideva issued the "Abhaya Sasana" at Motupalli guaranteeing security to all ships and abolished many vexatious customs duties. Very soon, the port regained its former glory.

Ganapatideva had no son but only two daughters. The elder daughter was Rudramba and the younger Ganapamba. Rudramba was actively associated in the administration of the kingdom from as early as A.D. 1240.

Generals of Ganapatideva

Ganapatideva while enlisting the support of the different feudatories tried not to alienate any of the important castes like the Reddis, Kammas, Velamas etc. His commanders hailed from different castes including brahmins. Racherla Rudra, the well known commander was a Reddi. He was mainly responsible for safeguarding the interests of the Kakatiyas when Ganapatideva remained a prisoner of the Yadavas. He was therefore given the title *Kakatirajya stapanacharya*. Jayapa, the chief of the elephant corps was a Kamma. Gangaya Sahini, the Chief of the cavalry was a Kayasta.

Ganapatideva had the foresight to enlist the support of the feudatories through matrimonial alliances. He gave his eldest daughter Rudramba in marriage to Veerabhadra, son of Indusekhara, the Vengi Chalukyan ruler of Nidadavolu. Similarly Ganapamba, the second daughter was married to Betaraja, the ruler of Dharanikota. His sister Melamba was married to Rudraraja, the feudatory of Madhira. Ganapatideva married Naramamba and Peramamba, daughters of Pinachoda of Diviseema. Jayapa, the son of Pinachoda was made governor of Velanadu. Later he became the chief of the elephant corps.

Rudramba (1262-1289)

Rudramba ascended the throne in A.D.1262. She was the first and the only woman to rule over Andhra. Her reign was marked by the uprisings of her feudatories who did not like a woman to rule over them. Soon after her accession to the throne, Mahadeva, the Yadava king besieged Warangal but failed to capture it. Rudramba took command and drove him out as far as Bedadakota (Bidar) and annexed it to her realm. Mahadeva was forced to pay a huge ransom. To commemorate this victory she took the title of *Rajagajakesari* — a title held by her father Ganapatideva. She offered thanks to Swayambhudeva — the presiding deity of the family by constructing a "rangamantapa" to the temple in the Warangal fort.

Attack on Vengi

In 1274, the Gajapati king of Orissa Bhimadeva I invaded Vengi. The Kakatiya forces were led by Poti Nayaka and Proli Nayaka. The outcome of the conflict is not clear. However, the Kakatiya rule in that region was not effective and the local feudatories began to defy the authority of Warangal.

Affairs in the South

More serious than the Gajapati attack on Vengi was the revolt of Ambadeva, the Kayasta chief of Cuddapah region with his capital at Gandikota. Ambadeva who became the chief of Cuddapah in 1272 defied the authority of Warangal and joined the Pandyas, who wanted the disintegration of the Kakatiya empire. In 1282 Ambadeva attacked Nellore and annexed it to his realm. Thus the Kakatiyas lost control of both Cuddapah and Nellore. Next Ambadeva occupied Gurajala in Guntur district.

The growing defiance of Ambadeva forced Rudramba to assert her authority. She led a big army to the south. Mallikarjuna Nayaka followed the queen. Both lost their lives in this expedition. This is evident from a recently discovered inscription at Chandupatla (Nalgonda). This event might have taken place in 1289, since the very next year, i.e., in 1290 Ambadeva issued at edict at Tripurantakam and boasted that he defeated all Andhra kings in battle (*Sarvanandhra Mahipatin Ranamukey Jeyatha yasolabdavan*).[1]

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1. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, *Kakatiya Charitra,* p. 47

Rudramba had no son but only three daughters. So she adopted as son, Prataparudra, the son of her eldest daughter Mammudamma, wife of Prince Mahadeva of the Kakatiya family.

Prataparudra (1289-1323)

Prataparudra ascended the throne after the death of his grandmother in 1289. His immediate problem was to suppress the revolt of Ambadeva who was supported by the Pandya and Sevana rulers. To achieve this objective he made a three-pronged attack on Ambadeva. One column marched against Ambadeva direct, while the second column proceeded towards Nellore and the third against the Sevuna kingdom. Induluri Annaiah who led the first column captured Tripurantakam in A.D. 1291 The second column led by Adidam Malla occupied Nellore at the same time. On the western front, the third column led by Gona Gannayya, son of Gona Buddha Reddy captured the forts of Adoni and Raichur from the Sevunas. Thus Prataparudra succeeded in re-establishing the power of the Kakatiyas in Southern and South-west Andhra.

Re-organisation of Administration

Prataparudra began his reign with a series of reforms in the administration. During the reign of Ganapatideva the governors of different areas of the empire, known as Nayaks, were appointed from the members of different castes. This was known as the "Nayamkara" system. Prataparudradeva re-organised this system appointing only Padmanayaks to these offices. He dismissed Nayaks belonging to other communities. His reforming activities ended in 1303 when the empire had to face the first shock of a Muslim invasion from the north. From 1303 to 1323 the Muslim rulers of Delhi invaded it five times and finally annihilated the Kakatiya empire.

Allauddin ascended the throne of Delhi in 1296 soon after his victory over the Yadava kingdom of Devagiri. He undertook this unauthorised invasion when he was the Governor of Kara and Allahabad. Soon after his victory, he murdered his father-in-law Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji and proclaimed himself the Sultan. The ease with which he annihilated Devagiri prompted Allauddin to undertake another invasion to the south in A.D. 1303. The Muslim army was, however, defeated by the Kakatiya forces at Upparapalli in Karimnagar district. Allauddin sent an expedition under Malik Kafur to the south in 1307. It was directed against Devagiri. In 1309 the second attack on the Kakatiya empire was undertaken. Malik Kafur commenced his attack on

the fort of Warangal on 19th January 1310. The Kakatiya army withstood the attack for two months and finally on 19 March it surrendered and accepted the terms dictated by Malik Kafur. Prataparudra agreed to surrender his wealth and pay annual tribute to the Sultan of Delhi.

After the return of Malik Kafur to Delhi the Kakatiya feudatories in Rayalaseema area, namely Ambaraja and Tripurantaka of Gandikota and Vallur, respectively rose in revolt. So Prataparudra undertook an expedition against the rebels and re-established his authority. He visited the famous Saivite temples at Srisailam and Tripurantakam. He found the area covered with thick forests. So he undertook the work of land reclamation. Large tracts of land were cleared of forests and new villages were built which were colonised by the people from Telangana and the coastal regions. The region was constituted into a Nayamkara and assigned to Videmu Kommaraju, a local subordinate.

After re-establishing his authority in Rayalaseema, Prataparudra launched a campaign against Kanchi and the Pandyas. Kanchi fell into the hands of the Kakatiyas. Both Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya were defeated.

Prataparudra kept his agreement with Malik Kafur and paid annual tribute to the Delhi Sultan regularly. In 1216 Allauddin died and there was confusion regarding the succession to the throne. Taking advantage of the situation Prataparudra withheld his tribute to the Delhi Sultan. In 1318, Qutubuddin Mubarak emerged successful in the struggle for the throne of Delhi. He sent an expedition to Warangal under Khusrau Khan to demand the payment of annual tribute due to the Delhi Sultan. Prataparudra, who was at that time engaged in a war with the Kampili ruler Kumararaja, thought it prudent to make terms with the Delhi Sultan and paid him the arrears of tribute.

In 1320 the Tughlaks replaced the Khiljis at Delhi and Ghiasuddin became the Sultan of Delhi. The new Delhi Sultan changed his Deccan policy from one of levying tribute to that of territorial conquest. Meanwhile, Prataparudra again stopped paying tribute to the Delhi Sultan and re-occupied Badarkot and other places ceded by him to Khusrau, the Khilji governor. In 1321, the Delhi Sultan sent a large force under the command of his son Ulugh Khan against Warangal. The attack on Warangal was repulsed and the Delhi forces suffered heavy losses. Therefore, they withdrew to Delhi, but mounted another attack on Warangal within four months. This attack proved to be a success. Prataparudra and his family were taken prisoners and sent to Delhi. On the way to Delhi Prataparudra committed suicide.

After the conquest of Warangal Ulugh Khan proceeded to other areas along the coast from Nellore to Rajahmundry and by September A.D.1324 he completed the conquest of the Kakatiya empire. The fall of Warangal and the Kakatiya empire was so sudden and unexpected that it left the people bewildered. The Muslim rule that followed proved to be very cruel and oppressive, so within a short time the feudatories of the Kakatiyas took a lead in organising a movement for liberating the country from the Muslim tyranny.

The Contribution of the Kakatiyas to Andhra Culture and Civilisation

The contribution of the Kakatiyas to Andhra culture and civilisation is immense. During their rule of over three hundred years they shaped and influenced Andhra history and culture by defending the Deccan from the repeated invasions of the Muslims.

Literature

During the time of the Kakatiyas, the Telugu language and its literature began to develop. The earliest extant work in Telugu is Nannaya's *Andhra Mahabharatamu*. The work was undertaken during the reign of the Eastern Chalukyan king Rajaraja Narendra (1019-61). Nannaya could not complete the work. Tikkana, the court poet of Manumasiddi II of Nellore, completed the translation of the fifteen cantos (parvas) of *Mahabharata* into Telugu at Warangal. He went there to persuade Ganapatideva to help his patron Manumasiddi who had been driven out of his kingdom by his kinsmen. The other work of Tikkana was *Nirvachanottara Ramayanamu*. The popular work *Bhaskara Ramayanamu* which is attributed to Mantri Bhaskara belonged to this period. Gona Buddha Reddi, a feudatory of Rudradeva was the first to translate the *Ramayana* into Telugu by about A.D. 1250. The work is known as *Ranganatha Ramayana*. Marana, a disciple of Tikkana wrote *Markendeya Puranamu*. The immensely popular work *Sumati Satakam* is attributed to Baddena, a Telugu Choda king of the Kakatiya period. His other work is *Niti Sastra Muktavali*. Palkurki Somanatha was the author of the two Saivite works *Panditaradhya Charitra* and *Basava Puranamu*. The other important Telugu works belonging to the Kakatiya period include Nannechoda's *Kumara Sambhavam*, Ketana's *Dasakumara Charitra*, Manchana's *Keyurubahu Charitra*.

Sanskrit works : The Kakatiya rulers extended patronage to Sanskrit also. Satkalyamalla wrote *Udatta Raghava Kavyam* and *Niroshtya Ramayana* in Sanskrit. Jayapa Senani was the author of *Nrittya*

Ratnavali, Gita Ratnavali and *Vadya Ratnavali.* Rudradeva, the first of the Imperial Kakatiyas, was the author of the Sanskrit work called *Nitisara. Yyati Charitram,* a Sanskrit drama, is attributed to Prataparudra.

Art

The Kakatiyas were great builders of temples. Among the famous temples built by them were the Rudreswara temple of Anamakonda and Svayambhunatha temple in the fort of Warangal. The Ramappa temple and the Pillalamarri temples are the greatest works of art. The four majestic gateways in the fort of Warangal testify to the genius of the Andhra artists of Warangal. The Kakatiya capital Warangal was known as the Andhra Mahanagara. No other city in Andhra had such a distinction.

Irrigation Works

The Kakatiya period witnessed great development in agriculture. This was made possible as the Kakatiya rulers bestowed great attention in building numerous irrigation works, like lakes, tanks, wells, etc. Among the famous irrigational works constructed by them were the Ramappa and Parkhal lakes. Prataparudradeva ordered reclamation of vast jungle tracts in Rayalaseema, especially in Kurnool district.

Religion.

When the Kakatiyas established their rule in the 11th century A.D. Jainism occupied a dominant position in Andhra. Saivism came second, but within two centuries, Jainism had almost completely disappeared out of Andhra and Saivism was the dominant religion. Three persons, namely Sripati, Sivalanka Manchana and Mallikarjuna Pandi-taradhya were responsible for making the Siva cult popular in Andhra. In Karnataka, Vira Saivism became very virulent and led to many religious clashes and bloodshed. This had its repercussions in Andhra also.

There were many clashes between the Saivites and Jains. Many of the Jain temples including the famous Padmashi temple at Anamakonda were converted into Saivite shrines. The Kakatiyas after Prola II became staunch Saivites. But it must be said to their credit that they never became religious fanatics. They, in fact, tried to keep in check, the religious animosities between the Jains and the Saivites.

In a word the Kakatiya rule gave Andhra Desa and the Telugu language an individuality of their own.

Minor Dynasties

As noted in the previous chapter prince Juna or Juna Khan, alias Ulugh Khan, the son of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, the founder of the Tughlak dynasty, conquered Warangal in 1323. He named it Sultanpur and annexed it to the Delhi Sultanate. He captured other South Indian towns including Rajahmundry and Madurai. Ulugh Khan ascended the throne of Delhi in 1325 and assumed the title Muhammad Bin Tughlak (1325-1351).

The fall of the Kakatiya empire resulted in anarchy. The tyranny of the Muslim rule under Muhammad Bin Tughlak led the various Hindu Nayakas of the Kakatiyas to close their ranks and throw off the Muslim yoke. The leader of the liberation movement was Prolaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family.

Musunuri Nayakas (1325-1368)

Under the Kakatiya rule, the empire was divided into 77 Nayankaras, each under the control of the Nayaka. Nayakas belonged to various castes like the Kammas, Velamas and Reddis. Many of the Nayakas or chieftains fought against the Muslims under Prataparudra Deva and lost their lives. Among those who survived included Induluru Anna Mantri, Kolanu Rudradeva, Racherla Singama Nayaka, Prolaya Vema Reddi of Addanki etc. These chiefs took the lead in organising a war of independence against the Muslim rule and elected as their leader, Prolaya Nayaka, the Kamma chieftain of Musunuru in Nuzvid taluka of Krishna district. All the other 76 Nayakas rendered assistance to Prolaya Nayaka who was ably supported by his three uncles Deva Nayaka, Kama Nayaka and Raja Nayaka and also his cousin Kapaya Nayaka.

Prolaya Nayaka expelled the Muslims from Rajahmundry and occupied the region between the rivers Godavari and Krishna. He rightly understood the military situation of the time and felt that he was not in a position to face the Muslim army in a direct fight. He, therefore, launched guerilla attacks on the Muslim army and concentrated his forces in an inaccessible place called Rekapalli in the Bhadrachalam forests. Prolaya Nayaka died without issue. His younger brother Erapota

died before him. So Prolaya was succeeded by his cousin Kapaya Nayaka.

Kapaya Nayaka (1336-68)

In 1336 Kapaya Nayaka attacked Warangal and expelled Malik Maqbul, the Muslim Governor of the place who fled to Delhi. On capturing Warangal Kapaya took the titles Andhradesadiswara and Andhra Surathana. He made Warangal his capital and extended his kingdom in all directions. The Western frontier of the Kingdom in extended as far as Kaulas and Bidar. In 1347 the Bahmani kingdom was established by Allauddin Bahman Shah and soon Kapaya was involved in a struggle with that kingdom over the fort of Kaulas. Kapaya was forced to surrender it with its dependencies to the Bahmani kingdom. Bahman Shah was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah I who fought against both Kapaya Nayaka of Warangal and Bukka I, the ruler of Vijayanagara. Kapaya Nayaka tried to recover Kaulas with the help of Bukka I who assisted the Warangal ruler with a cavalry contingent of 20,000. However the combined forces of Warangal and Vijayanagara led by Vinayakadeva, the son of Kapaya Nayaka were defeated by Muhammad Shah. His army occupied the fort of Bhuvanagiri, near Warangal. The Bahmani army withdrew when Kapaya Nayaka made an appeal to Feroze Shah Tughlak. Next year, i.e., in A.D. 1362 Muhammad Shah again attacked Telangana and burnt Vinayakadeva alive. Kapaya Nayaka made peace with the Bahmani kingdom by ceding the fort of Golconda. Kapaya Nayaka was not destined to live long. He was involved in a quarrel with Recharla Anapota, a local chieftain. In the fight that ensued at Bhimavaram, near Warangal, Kapaya Nayaka was killed. With his death the rule of the Musunuri family came to an end.

The Recharla Chiefs (1325-1474)

After the death of Kapaya Nayaka, Eastern Telangana came under the control of Recharla Padma Nayaka who hailed from the Velama community. Very little is known about the origin of the family. The first known historical personage was Singama I, a general under Kakatiya Prataparudra. He was the Chief of Nalgonda and supported Kapaya Nayaka in his attempts to overthrow the Muslim rule. He later fell out with Kapaya Nayaka and enlarged his territory. He was on friendly terms with the Bahmani rulers. His son Anapota Nayaka (1361-'84) killed Kapaya Nayaka in 1368. He was involved in a number of battles with the Reddis of Kondavidu and the Vijayanagara rulers. He conquered the forts

of Warangal, Panagal, Medak, Golconda and took the title *Andhradeshadeeswara.* 'During his reign the Velama Kingdom split into two. The northern portion was retained by Anapota who ruled it with Rachakonda as his capital. The Southern portion was given to his brother Madhava Nayaka who ruled over it with Devarkonda as the capital. Anapota was succeeded by his son Singama Nayaka (1425-75), better known as Sarvajna. Bammera Potana lived in his kingdom and refused to dedicate his *Bhagavatam* to the ruler.

The last king of the Devarakonda branch was Lingama Nayaka. He tried to occupy Warangal with the help of the Gajapati rulers of Orissa. His plans did not fructify and in course of time, Telangana came under the control of the Bahmanis.

The Velama rulers frequently quarrelled with the Reddis and caused the downfall of their Rajahmundry branch. They joined hands with the Bahmani Sultans to attack the neighbouring principalities. Later they allied themselves with Vijayanagara rulers to attack the Bahmani kingdom. The Velama line became extinct by the end of the fifteenth century.

Reddi Kingdoms: Kondavidu 1325-1424

Prolaya Vema Reddi, 1325-53

After the disintegration of the Kakatiya empire, some of the ambitious and able Nayakas carved out principalities for themselves and declared their independence. One of the 76 Nayakas who supported Kapaya Nayaka to overthrow the Muslim *yoke* was Prolaya Vema Reddi (1325-53). He was originally one of the generals of the last Kakatiya ruler Prataparudradeva. He belonged to the *Panta kapu* caste. In A.D. 1325 he took possession of the present districts of Guntur, Prakasam, Nellore and parts of Kurnool. He made Addanki near Ongole as his capital. His kingdom included 74 forts such as Vinukonda, Kondaveedu, Kondapalli, Bellamkonda, Dharanikota, etc. Prolaya Vema was a champion of the Vedic religion and patron of Telugu literature. He restored the Agraharams taken over by the Muslims to the brahmins and endowed new ones to scholars. He patronised Yerrapragada, one of the three poets who have translated the *Mahabharatam* into Telugu. Besides translating the Aranyaparva of the *Mahabharata*, Yerrapragada wrote another work called the *Harivamsam.*

Anapotha Reddi (1353-1364)

Prolaya Vema Reddi had three sons called Anamacha, Anapota and Anavema. As Anamacha predeceased his father, Anapota became the

king after the death of his father in A.D. 1353. The main event of his reign was the shifting of the capital from Addanki to Kondavidu, near Narasaraopeta in Guntur district. During his short reign of eleven years, Anapota was involved in numerous wars with the Recharla chiefs, the Bahmani Sultan and the Vijayanagara ruler, Bukka I. In spite of his military preoccupations, he evinced interest in the development of international trade and improved the facilities at Motupalli port.

Anavema Reddi (1364-1386)

At the death of Anapota Reddi, his son Kumaragiri Reddi was a young boy. So his uncle Anavema Reddi ascended the throne in A.D. 1364. Anavema had to face the attacks of Bukka I and lost many of the territories of the kingdom in the south and west to the Vijayanagara ruler. In order to compensate for these losses, Anavema turned his attention towards the east and conquered many places like, Nidadavolu, Rajahmundry, Pithapuram and Simhachalam. He was involved in many wars with the Recharla chiefs. He was succeeded by his nephew Kumaragiri Reddi.

Kumaragiri Reddi (1386-1403)

Kumaragiri Reddi, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1386 was a pleasure loving king. He made popular the celebration of the spring festival (Vasanthostavam). He wrote a treatise on a dance called Vasantha Rajeevam. He left the administration in the hands of his brother-in-law, Kataya Vema Reddi. The Reddi kingdom had to face attacks from the Vijayanagara ruler, Harihara II, who conquered Tripurantakam and Vinukonda. Katayavema took command of the army and defeated Harihara II. The Vijayanagara ruler made peace with Kondavidu kingdom and gave his daughter, Hariharamba, in marriage to Kataya Vema. In the east Kataya vema conquered places like Bendapudi, Vajrakutam, Kimmuru. The eastern conquests were unified into a new province called Purva Rajya with Rajahmundry as the headquarters. Kataya Vema was made the governor of Purva Rajya. Later, in 1403, he was made its ruler. Thus a new Reddi kingdom came into existence at Rajahmundry. At Kondavidu as a result of palace intrigues Kumaragiri Reddi was overthrown and the throne was usurped by Pedakomati Vema Reddi. Kumaragiri Reddi took shelter with his brother-in-law, Kataya Vema at Rajahmundry.

Peda Komati Vema Reddi (1403-1420)

When Pedakomati Vema Reddi occupied the throne in A.D. 1403, the Reddi kingdom was in a great crisis. A severe famine which lasted for twelve years from 1390 had reduced the population and destroyed the pastoral wealth. Added to this, frequent quarrels with the Recharla rulers and Vijayanagara kings had depleted the treasury. At Vijayanagara Devaraya I ascended the throne in A.D. 1406, Pedakomati Vema allied himself with the Bahmani Sultan and seized the fort of Udayagiri in Nellore district. However, very soon Devaraya reconquered it. He took up the cause of Kumaragiri Reddi and entered the Godavari basin. Pedakomati Reddi, the Recharla chiefs and the Bahmani Sultan Tajud-dinFeroz Shah (1397-1423) joined their forces against Devaraya I. At the battle of Attili, Kataya Vema Reddi lost his life and Feroz's army entered Rajahmundry. Meanwhile, to divert the attention of the Bahmani forces Devaraya laid siege to Nalgonda and Panagal. This had the desired effect. Feroz withdrew from Rajahmundry. At the same time the Velamas changed sides and allied themselves with Devaraya I. Feroz was defeated in 1419 and he returned to his kingdom. At Rajahmundry, Allada, a general of Kataya Vema took up the cause of Kumaragiri and defeated Komati Vema who returned to Kondavidu where he was killed in an encounter with Recharla Velamas in A.D. 1420.

Komati Vema was a scholar of Sanskrit and wrote two books called the *Sangita Chintamani* and *Sahitya Chintamani.* He was the patron of the famous Telugu poet, Srinadha, the author of *Kashikandam, Bhimakan-dam, Haravilasam* and *Naishadam.*

Racha Vema Reddi (1420-1425)

The last Reddi king of Kondavidu, Racha Vema was a tyrant. The kingdom was attacked by the Gajapathis of Orissa and Devaraya I of Vijayanagara. He was overthrown in a popular uprising. With his expul-sion from the throne, the Reddi kingdom at Kondavidu came to an end. It was absorbed into the Vijayanagara empire.

Reddis of Rajahmundry (1403-1448)

The Reddi kingdom at Rajahmundry came into existence in 1403 when Kumaragiri Reddi made the Purva Rajya or the Eastern province of the Kondavidu kingdom into an independent principality and conferred it on the ruler, his brother-in-law Kataya Vema Reddi.

Kataya Vema Reddi (1403-1415)

Before Kataya Vema Reddi became the independent ruler of the Rajhumundry kingdom in 1403, he played an important role both as an administrator and a general in the court of his brother-in-law Kumaragiri Reddi at Kondavidu. He defended the kingdom against the attacks of Harihara II, the Vijayanagara ruler. Again, he was responsible for the conquest of the eastern territory extending from Nidadavolu to Simhachalam. As mentioned above the newly constituted eastern territory was declared to be an independent kingdom in 1403 with Kataya Vema Reddi as its first ruler. The new kingdom soon involved itself in war with the main kingdom at Kondavidu, when Pedakomati Vema Reddi through palace intrigue usurped the throne from Kumaragiri Reddi. The latter had to take shelter at Rajamundry which he had earlier conferred on his brother-in-law, Kataya Vema Reddi.

During the years 1415-1417 the Bahmani ruler Tajuddin Feroz Shah, attacked Rajahmundry in alliance with Pedakomati Vema Reddi of Kondavidu. The Vijayanagar ruler Devaraya I sent his army in support of Kataya Vema Reddi who was, however, killed in the battle of Attili in 1415. Feroz shah had to withdraw though he conquered Rajahmundry when Devaraya I laid siege to Panagal and Nalgonda.

After the death of Kataya Vema in 1415, his general Allada Reddi carried on the administration in the name of Kumaragiri Reddi II, the son of Kataya Vema. After the untimely death of Kumaragiri II Allada Reddi made Anitalli, the daughter of Kataya Vema, the ruler of Rajahmundry. She married Virabhadra Reddi, the Son of Allada Reddi. In 1420 Allada Reddi passed away. Virabhadra Reddi became the ruler and his elder brother Vema Reddi acted as the Prime Minister. However, the claims of Virabhadra Reddi were challenged by his cousins, Kumaragiri and Anapota. They usurped the throne and ruled from 1420 to 1423. Vema Reddi and Virabhadra Reddi with the help of the Gajapatis of Orissa reconquered the kingdom from their cousins in 1423. Virabhadra ruled up to 1448. In that year, Kapileswara Gajapathi of Orissa occupied Rajahmundry and the Reddi rule come to an end.

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THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE (1336-1678)

The fall of the Kakatiya empire and the subsequent misrule and tyranny of the Muslim invaders created a sense of insecurity among the Hindus of the South. Hinduism appeared to be in danger of extinction. So the Hindus organised themselves to resist any further onslaughts of Islam. The movement for the liberation of Andhra from the Muslims began within two years of the fall of the Kakatiya empire in 1323. As noted in the last chapter, Prolaya Nayaka took the lead in A.D. 1325 in putting an end to the Muslim oppression of the Hindus and succeeded in liberating the entire coastal region from the Godavari to the Penna river by A.D. 1331. In Western Andhra or present Rayalaseema, the lead was taken by Harihara and Bukka. Their original home was Warangal where they worked as minister and treasurer respectively under Prataparudradeva, the Kakatiya ruler. They fled from Warangal in 1323 when it was besieged by the Muslims. They went over to Kampili in Karnataka. In 1327 Kampili was captured by the Muslims and Harihara and Bukka were taken to Delhi as prisoners. There they embraced Islam. Malik Muhammad was appointed the Governor of Kampili. The Hindus revolted against him. They were supported by the Hoysala Ballala III. To strengthen the position of Malik Muhammad, Harihara and Bukka, the new coverts to Islam were sent to Kampili, by Muhammad Bin Tughlak. The brothers, on coming to Kampili met the sage Vidyaranya (forest of learning), renounced their new faith and returned to the Hindufold, deciding to uphold its cause against Islam. They founded Vijayanagar in A.D. 1336.

Origin of Vijayanagar

There are two theories regarding the origin of Vijayanagar. Father Heras and other historians, basing their arguments on the statement of Ferishta, claim that the city was founded by Harihara and Bukka, the generals of the Hoysala king Ballala III. In other words, they support the Kannada origin of Vijayanagar. This theory is not accepted by eminent historian K.A. Nilakanta Sastri who states: "A critical study of tradition of epigra

phy has made it clear that Vijayayanagar owed its origin to Telugu chieftains and not to subordinates of the Hoysalas as has sometimes been thought." As a matter of fact it was the Telugus who freed greater part of South India from the Muslim Yoke. Kapaya Nayaka liberated Telanagana by defeating Malik Maqbul, the governor of Warangal in 1336. Maqbul fled to Devagiri and then to Delhi. The Reddis of Kondavidu set up a Hindu kingdom extending from Srisailam to the Bay of Bengal and the Godavari to Penna. North Coastal Andhra from Godavari to Vamasadhara came under the control of the Koppula chief of Pithampuram. Nalgonda and the adjoining area were controlled by the Velama chiefs of Rachakonda, Rayalaseema and parts of Karnataka were liberated from Muslim rule by Harihara and Bukka. In the far South, Madurai was liberated in 1378 by Kumara Kampana, the son of Bukka, who put an end to the Mabari Sultanate. The details of this victory are recorded in an excellent Sanskrit work called *Madura Vijayam* written by Ganga Devi, the wife of Kumara Kampana.

Four dynasties ruled over the Vijayanagara kingdom in succession. They were: (1) Sangama, (2) Saluva, (3) Tuluva, and (4) Aravidu.

The Sangama Dynasty (1336-1485)

Harihara and Bukka established their sway over Kampili as the agents of the Delhi Sultan. On returning to the Hindufold they declared their independence and founded a new city opposite to Anegondi on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra. The new city was named significantly Vijayanagar or the 'City of Victory'. It was also known as Vidyanagara or the City of Learning in honour of the sage Vidyaranya. Harihara celebrated his coronation in the presence of God Virupaksha, on 18th April 1336. The dynasty then established came to be known as the Sangama in honour of Harihara's father Sangama. The latter had five sons called Harihara, Kampana, Bukka, Marappa and Muddappa. Of these, as noted earlier, Harihara and Bukka took service under the Kakatiya ruler Prataparudradeva.

Harihara I (1336-57)

The first ruler of the Vijayanagara kingdom was Harihara I. He ruled from 1336 to 1365 Harihara's main aim was to nurture and develop the new kingdom as a bulwark against the danger from Islam. He was fortunate in getting unstinted support from his brothers who shared his sentiments. He organised the administration of his kingdom on the Kakatiya model and divided the country into Sthalas and Nadus. The four

regions of the kingdom Darasamudra, Male, Mulabaga and Udayagiri—were put in the charge of his four brothers. Bukka, who was declared as joint ruler in 1346 administered Darasamudra. The western hilly region, Male sthala was administered by Marappa, while the two other brothers Muddappa and Kampana governed Mulabaga and Udayagiri respectively.

Harihara I followed the Kakatiya example in appointing brahmins as Karanams in preference to *velamas* and *kamsalis* (goldsmiths).

In 1346 the five brothers and their families visited Sringeri to offer their homage to Vidayatheertha, the head of the 'Math'. They celebrated in his presence the Vijayothsava as the kingdom by then extended from sea to sea (Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal). In the very next year, i.e., 1347, the Bahmini Kingdom was established, posing a new threat from Islam to Hindu culture and religion. Allauddin Hasan Bahman Shah (1347-58) the founder of the Bahmani kingdom attacked the Vijayanagar territory twice in 1349 and 1354. Hindu sources claim that Harihara I defeated Allauddin, whereas the latter styled himself as a 'Second Alexander' on the legend of his coins. The fact, however, remains that Allauddin's kingdom extended from Goa in the west to Bhuvanagiri in the east. Harihara died in A.D. 1357 without any issue. He was succeeded by his brother Bukka I.

Bukka I (1357-77)

Bukka I continued the work of his brother Harihara I consolidating and expanding the Vijayanagara kingdom. The most important event of his region was the overthrow of the Muslim rule in Madurai by his son Kumara Kampana. He was assisted by two famous generals, Gopana and Saluva Mangu. Kampana reinstalled the image of Ranganatha, which had been carried away from Srirangam for safety at the time of Muslim invasion, and restored its worship. As noted earlier, his victory was graphically described in *Madura Vijayam*, a Sanskrit work written by his wife Ganga Devi. Kampana died in 1374.

In 1374 Bukka sent an ambassador to the Chinese emperor of the Ming dynasty. As far as internal affairs were concerned, Bukka's reign saw the beginning of the perennial dispute of Vajayanagar with the Bahminis over Raichur doab, i.e., the territory between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra. Muhammad I (1358-77), the eldest son of Allauddin Bahman Shah, launched warlike expeditions both against Telangana and Vijayanagar. He attacked Telangana and burnt alive Vinayakadeva, the son of Kapaya Nayaka. Where Vijayanagara was

concerned Muhammad demanded the Raichur doab and declared war on the trivial pretext that a royal messenger of Gulbarga was insulted by Bukka I . Muhammad I won a victory at Kauthal south of Tungabhadra in 1367. Bukka I withdrew to Adoni. Muhammad I thereupon advanced into Vijayanagar city and massacred four hundred thousand Hindus, including ten thousand priests.

Bukka I was noted for his religious tolerance and safeguarded the interests of the minorities like the Jains. As he upheld the Vedic dharma and encouraged the compilation of commentaries on the Vedas he was called *Vaidika marga pravartaka.*

Harihara II (1377-1404)

Bukka I was succeeded by his son Harihara II who ruled for twenty-seven years, i.e., from A.D. 1377 to 1404 His chief minister was the famous Sayanacharya, the brother of Madhavacharya. During the reign of Harihara, the empire was extended in different directions. In order to consolidate the rule of his dynasty Harihara appointed his own sons as governors of the different provinces replacing his cousins and distant relatives.

The contemporary of Harihara II in the Bahmani kingdom was Muhammad II (A.D. 1378-97). Unlike the other Bahmani kings he was a man of peaceful disposition. The Vijayanagara ruler occupied the ports of Goa, Chaul and Dabhol. In Telangana the Velama chieftain of Rachakonda, Anapota, was on friendly terms with the Bahminis and engaged himself in frequent wars both with the Reddis of Kondavidu and the Vijayanagara rulers.

Harihara II attacked the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu and occupied Tripurantakam and Vinukonda, but he could not retain them for long. He was defeated by the Kondavidu general, Kataya Vema. In the South, Prince Virupaksha led an expedition against Ceylon and exacted tribute from it.

In 1389, Feroz Shah Bahmini 1397-1422 attacked Vijayanagar, slaughtered the Hindu population and looted its wealth. He withdrew only after Harihara II promised to pay annual tribute to the Bahmini rulers. Harihara II died in August 1404 and the empire was plunged into a war of succession.

Devaraya I (1406-22)

In the war of succession among the sons of Harihara II, Virupaksha succeeded in securing the throne, but he was outsted by his brother Bukka

II who ruled for two years (1405-1406). Finally, Devaraya I secured the throne and celebrated his coronation on 5 November 1406. He ruled for sixteen years.

Early in his reign Devaraya I was involved in a war with Feroz Shah, the Bahmani ruler. He was defeated and forced to cede Bankapur, a strategic fort to the Bahmini ruler. According to Ferishta, Devaraya had to give one of his daughters in marriage to Feroz and also pay a huge ransom.

At Kondavidu, Pedakomati Vema usurped the throne from Kumaragiri Reddi. He allied himself with the Bahmani Sultan Feroz and captured Udayagiri from the Vijayanagara ruler. Thereupon Devaraya I took up the cause of Kumaragiri Reddi and entered the Godavari region. Feroz Shah, Pedakomati Vema Reddi of Kondavidu and the Velama Chiefs of Recharla formed an alliance against Devaraya I and the Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry. Feroz Shah entered Rajahmundry after defeating and killing Kataya Vema Reddi at the battle of Attili, but had to withdraw from Rajahmundry when Devaraya I laid siege to Panagal in Telangana. Devaraya I succeeded in breaking the alliance of the Velamas with the Bahmani ruler. The Recharla chiefs now supported the Vijayanagara ruler Devaraya. In 1419 Devaraya I had his revenge on Feroz Shah when he defeated him. Devaraya occupied Kondavidu and exterminated the Reddi kingdom. A greater portion of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu was annexed to the Vijayanagara empire. A small portion was given to the Velama chiefs of Recharla. Devaraya I died in 1422. In 1420, the Italian traveller Niccolo Conti visited Vijayanagar. His description of the city gives us much information about contemporary life.

Vira Vijaya Raya, (1422-1426)

The death of Devaraya I in 1422, again resulted in a war of succession among his sons. One of his sons, Ramachandra occupied the throne for a few months. He was overthrown by his brother Vira Vijaya Raya who ruled for about five years. The only notable event of his reign was the invasion of the Bahmani ruler Ahmad Shah, who slaughtered more than twenty thousand people in just three days. The Raya narrowly escaped capture by the Muslim soldiers who mistook him for a common labourer when he hid himself in a sugarcane plantation. Ahmad Shah returned to his capital carrying much booty and several women.

Devaraya II (1426-1446)

Vijayaraya was succeeded by his son Devaraya II in A.D. 1426 He was

undoubtedly the greatest ruler of the Sangama dynasty. On ascending the throne he examined the causes for the failure of the Vijayanagara army in their engagements with the Bahmanis. He felt that artillery of the Vijayanagara forces was weak. So he took steps to improve this division. Further, he recruited Muslims into his army and built a mosque for them in his capital and placed a copy of the *Koran* in front of the throne.

Devaraya took the tittle *Gajavetakara* or the Hunter of Elephants. He went to the assistance of the Reddi rulers of Rajahmundry when Bhanudeva IV, the last Ganga king of Kalinga invaded it. Meanwhile Kapileswara, the minister of Bhanudeva IV, seized the Kalinga throne and continued the war against Rajahmundry. Devaraya II drove out the Kalinga army and saved Rajahmundry for the Reddies in 1435. However, after the death of Deveraya in 1446, Rajahmundry was annexed by Kapileswara.

In the far south, Devaraya's army subjugated the ruler of Quilon and other principalities in Kerala. The Zamorin of Calicut was allowed to remain independent. Another achievement of Devaraya was the successful naval expedition against Ceylon, under the leadership of his naval chief Lakkanna. The Sinhalese ruler paid a huge indemnity to Devaraya. For this achievement Lakkanna was given the title *Dakshina Samudradhiswara.*

During his Kerala campaign an attempt to murder Devaraya was made by some of his relations but it failed. The Bahmani king, Allauddin II, learing about the dissenssions in the royal family attacked Vijayanagar in 1443. Devaraya retaliated with a counter attack and captured Raichur, Bankapur and other places. However, the death of his elder son in a battle broke his spirit. He raised the siege and withdrew. Allauddin thereupon made a fresh attack on Vijayanagar and forced Devaraya to accept his terms of treaty. Devaraya died on 24th May 1446.

Abdur Razzak, the Persian Ambassador to the court of the Zamorin, visited Vijayanagar in 1443 A.D. According to him the Vijayanagar empire extended from Sri Lanka to Gulbarga and from Orissa to Malabar. According to Nuniz, a Portuguese merchant, Devaraya received tribute from the rulers of Quilon, Sri Lanka, Pegu, Tenasserim (Burma).

Devaraya was a great builder and patron of literature. He performed *Kanakahbhisekham* (showering gold) on the Telugu poet Srinatha when he defeated in a poetic debate the Vijayanagara Poet Laureate belonging to the Dindima family. Devaraya divided the outlying areas of the empire into six provinces, namely, (1) Udayagiri rajya (Nellore), (2) Penugonda rajya (Anantapur and Chandragiri), (3) Rajaghambira rajya (Tamil

districts areas of Kanchi, Srirangam and Madurai), (4) Muluvayi rajya (Kolar and Mysore), (5) Tulu rajya (Goa and Mangalore) and (6) Mela rajya (Malabar). The successors of Devaraya were weak and could not control the empire.

Mallikarjuna (1447-1465)

Devaraya II was succeeded by his brother Vijaya Raja II. But he was overthrown by Mallikarjuna, son of Devaraya II, who crowned himself as the ruler in May 1447. His rule saw the decline of the Sangama dynasty. The weakness of Mallikarjuna was exploited both by Allauddin II, the Bahmani ruler and Kapileswara Gajapati of Orissa. The latter captured Rajahmundry and Kondavidu in 1454. He marched towards the south along the east coast and captured Kanchi and Tiruchirapalli in 1463. His son Hambar (Hammira) defeated Mahummad Gawan and captured Warangal and Bidar in 1461. Mallikarjuna who assumed the title "Immadi Devaraya" (twice as great as Devaraya) did nothing to oppose the Oriya conquest and recover the lost territory. He died in 1465.

Virupaksha (1465-1485)

Mallikarjuna left behind him an infant son Rajasekhara. But the throne was usurped by Mallikarjuna's cousin, Virupaksha II. He was the son of Pratapadevaraya, a younger brother of Devaraya II. Before his usurpation of the throne he was the governor of Penugonda. He led an immoral life and steeped himself in drink and debauchery. The Bahmani ruler Muhammad III occupied Goa, Chaul and Dabhal. The authority of the central government was at its lowest ebb. Only some powerful governors like Saluva Narashimha of Chandragiri were able to assert themselves. He declared war against the Gajapathis of Orissa and expelled them from Udayagiri in 1470. Taking advantage of a civil war in Orissa following the death of Kapileswara, Saluva Narasimha expelled the Oriyas from Kondavidu and Machilipathnam in 1477 and extended his authority up to Godavari. He helped Purushothama to regain the throne of Orissa from which he had been expelled previously by his brother Hambar (Hammira) with the help of the Bahmini Sultan Muhammad III.

In Telangana the people revolted against the Bahmanis and besieged their governor, Malik Hasan, at Rajahmundry with the help of Purushothama Gajapati. Thereupon Muhammad III, the Bahmani ruler marched against Purushothama Gajapati and forced him to surrender much treasure and elephants (1478). Muhammad on his way back, destroyed the great temple at Kondavidu, built a mosque over its site and

killed the priests with his own hands in order to earn the title of Ghazi. He stayed for three years in Andhra to complete its subjugation. In 1481 he made a sudden attack on Kanchi, plundered its rich temples and killed its priests. While returning to Kondapalli, which became the headquarters of the Bahmini army Muhammad III was harassed by Iswara Nayaka, the general of Narashimha and lost much of his booty plundered at Kanchi. He, however, succeeded in capturing Machilipatnam. Due to internal politics he suddenly put to death his competent prime minister Mohammad Gawan on 5 April 1481. The king realised his mistake and died brokenhearted at Bidar on 22 March 1482, at the age of twenty-nine.

While these developments were taking place in the Bahmini kingdom, conditions at Vijayanagar were getting worse day by day. In 1485 Virupaksha II was murdered by his eldest son, who, however, smitten with remorse, declined the throne. His brother Praudhadeva Raya became the king. The new king put to death his brother and gave himself to drink and debauchery. Narasimha witnessed these developments with anxiety and felt that the only way to save the kingdom was by overthrowing the old dynasty and assuming power himself. He sent his general Narasa Nayaka to proceed to Vijayanagar and capture the city. When Narasa Nayaka entered Vijayanagar, the profligate king fled the city without offering any resistance. Thus the Sangama dynasty came to an end and Narasimha became the ruler of Vijayanagar in 1486 and founded the Saluva dynasty.

SULUVA DYNASTY (A.D. 1486-1505)

Suluva Narasimha (1486-1491)

When Saluva Narashima usurped the throne there was opposition to him from the palegars (chieftains) of Peranipadu (Cuddapah), Ummathur near Mysore and other places. Narasimha advanced to Kanara and occupied it. Narasa Nayaka, the son of Iswara Nayaka, was sent to Madurai to re-establish the authority of the central government. While Narasimha was thus engaged in consolidating his authority in the south and west, Purushottama Gajapathi, taking advantage of the weakness of the Bahmini kingdom following the death of Muhammad III, attacked coastal Andhra and advanced as far as Udayagiri in Nellore district. Narasimha's attempt to regain Udayagiri failed and he was taken prisoner by the Gajapati king. He could secure his release by surrendering Udayagiri to the Oriya king.

Narasimha realised the importance of cavalry. The loss of Goa and other places on the west coast during the reign of Virupaksha II

dislocated the import of horses from Arabia. So he conquered Honavar, Bhatkal, Mangalore on the Tulu coast and encouraged merchants to import horses from Ormuz and Aden.

Narasimha ruled for about six years only. He died in 1491 leaving behind two young sons in the charge of Narasa Nayaka. Narasimha was so popular that foreigners referred to Vijayanagara as the kingdom of Narashimha. He patronised poets like Rajanatha Dindima who wrote *Saluvabhyudayamu* or the history of the Saluvas. Narasimha himself wrote a Sanskrit work called *Ramabhyudayam.*

Immadi Narashimha (1491-1505)

As noted earlier Saluva Narashimha died in 1491 leaving his two young sons under the care of Narasa Nayaka. The elderson Timmabhupala was murdered by Timmarasa, a rival of Narasa Nayaka. So the younger prince Immadi Narasimha was crowned king, but the real authority was in the hands of Narasa Nayaka. Friction between the two rivals, Narasa Nayaka and Timmarasa increased. The king Immadi Narasimha refused to punish Timmarasa, the murderer of his elder brother. On the contrary he bestowed many favours on Timmarasa. Enraged at this attitude of the king, Narasa Nayaka marched towards the capital and forced king Immadi Narasimha to punish Timmarasa with death penalty. The king was removed to Penukonda where he was kept in detention. Narasa Nayaka became the virtual ruler of the kingdom till his death in 1503. Narasa Nayaka was an efficient general and capable administrator. He put down the revolt of the chief of Ummattur and captured Srirangapattana. He intervened in the quarrels of the Sultans of Bijapur and Bidar and conquered Raichur doab from Bijapur.

In the south, Narasa Nayaka put down the tyrannical rule of Konetiraja, the Governor of Trichy and compelled the Chola and Chera rulers to accept the suzerainty of Vijayanagar. He repulsed in 1499 the attack on the Vijayanagar kingdom by Prataparudra, the son of Purushotama Gajapathi.

Narasa Nayaka died in 1503. He completed the work of his master, Saluva Narasimha and brought the greater part of South India under the effective control of Vijayanagar. He re-organised the army and paved the way for the glorious rule of his illustrious son, Sri Krishnadeva Raya.

After the death of Narasa Nayaka, his eldest son Immadi Narasa Nayaka popularly knowns as Vira Narasimha became the regent. The lawful king, Immadi Narasimha kept under surveillance at Penukonda was murdered in 1505. The Saluva dynasty came to an end. Vira

Narasimha inaugurated the dynasty known as the Tuluva which was the third to rule over the Vijayanagara empire.

Tuluva Dynasty (A.D.1505-1570)

Vira Narasimha (1505-1509)

Narasa Nayaka had two sons, the eldest was Vira Narasimha whose mother was Tippamba. The second son was Sri Krishandeva Raya. His mother was Nagamba.

The short reign of Vira Narasimha from 1505 to 1509 was engaged in frequent wars with the Muslims and the rebel Heuna chiefs of Ummathur and Srirngapattana. While marching towards the south to lay siege to Ummattur, Vira Narasimha left Sri Krishnadeva Raya, his half brother, in charge of the capital. He established friendly relations with the Portuguese who were then consolidating their power on the west coast. He reorganised the army and improved the cavalry. He died in 1509 while making preparation to attack Ummattur.

Vira Narasimha made munificient gifts to almost all temples in South India like Rameswaram, Madurai, Chidambaram, Srikalahasti, Srisailam, etc. According to Nuniz, Vira Narasimha wanted that his eight-year old son should ascend the throne and his half brother Sri Krishnadeva Raya be murdered. He ordered his minister Saluva Timma to perform that act. The minister, however took Sri Krishnadeva Raya under his protection and satisfied the dying king by telling him that Sri Krishnadeva Raya was no more and showed him two goat's eyes as proof. The story is however, not supported by popular tradition. The general belief was that Vira Narasimha himself chose Sri Krishanadeva Raya for the succession.

Sri Krishanadeva Raya (1509-1529)

Sri Krishnadeva Raya was the greatest emperor South India has produced. When he ascended the throne in 1509, the political condition of the Vijayanagar empire was very gloomy. The rulers of Orissa were in possession of coastal Andhra up to Nellore. The Sultan of Bijapur wanted to extend the boundaries of his kingdom at the expense of Vijayanagar.

Sri Krishnadeva Raya first turned his attention towards the Muslim rulers of the Deccan who had combined themselves to wagea *jihad* against Vijayanagar. The leader of this combine was Yusuf Adil Khan, the Sultan of Bijapur. Sri Krishnadeva Raya inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined Muslim army at Adoni. He pursued the retreating Muslim army and inflicted another defeat on the Muslims at the battle of

Kovalakonda where Yusuf Adil Khan was killed. Raichur was captured in A.D. 1512 and the Doab region of the Krishna-Tungabhadra river basins came under the control of Sri Krishnadeva Raya. Gulbarga was also captured. Sri Krishnadeva Raya restored the Bahmani kingdom to its legal ruler Muhammad Shah, displacing the *de facto* ruler Barid Mamalik.

Sri Krishnadeva Raya next turned his attention on the Polygars (local chieftains) of Ummattur. After subjugating Ummattur, he conquered Sivasamudram and Srirangapatnam.

Campaign against Orissa

Sri Krishnadeva Raya launched five campaigns against the Oriya rulers. He first turned his attention to Udayagiri in Nellore district which was occupied by the Orissa rulers. The assault began in A.D. 1513 Udayagiri was regarded as an impregnable fort but Sri Krishanadeva Raya succeeded in causing a breach in the fortress and defeated the large Orissan army of Prataparudra. The Oriyas withdrew to Kondavidu. After the capture of Udayagiri Sri Krishandeva Raya visited Tirupati to pay his homage to Sri Venkateswara. He placed his statue along with those of his wives, Chinna Devi and Tirumala Devi, at the entrance of the Tirumala shrine.

After rendering his homage to Sri Venkateswara Sri Krishnadeva Raya launched his second assault against the Oriya rulers. On the way to Kondavidu he conquered the forts at Kandukuru, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, etc.Kondavidu was besieged, but the Vijayanagara general Saluva Timma failed to capture the fort. So Sri Krishnadeva Raya himself took command and made a vigorous attack on the fort. Ultimately, the Oriyas were forced to surrender. A large number of Gajapati nobles including Prince Virabhadra were captured and sent to Vijayanagar.

In the third campaign, Bezwada on the banks of the Krishna river was captured. Kondapalli on the way towards Golconda was also captured. The forts in the districts of Nalgonda and Warangal were also captured.

In the fourth campaign Vengi was liberated. Rajahmundry was captured without any difficulty. Sri Krishandeva Raya next proceeded to Simhachalam and paid homage to Narasimha Swamy, the presiding deity of the temple. At Potnuru he erected a pillar of victory to commemorate his victories.

In the fifth and last campaign, Sri Krishnadeva Raya marched against Cuttack, the capital of the Gajapati rulers. Prince Virabhadra committed suicide in the Vijayanagar prison. Prataparudradeva was forced to sue for peace. In 1518 a treaty was concluded by which Prataparudradeva gave his daughter in marriage to Sri Krishandeva Raya. In exchange, Sri Krishnadeva Raya returned all the territories conquered by him north of the Krishna river to the Orissa ruler.

Golconda

While Sri Krishnadeva Raya was busy with his military campaigns in Orissa, the Sultan of Golconda, Quli Qutb Shah attacked Panagal and Guntur and occupied the forts at Warangal, Khammammet, Kondapalli, Eluru and Rajahmundry. He forced the Orissa ruler to surrender all the territories between the mouths of Krishna and Godavari rivers. He then attacked Kondavidu which was under the charge of Nadidla Gopa, the nephew of Timmarasu, the famous minister of Sri Krishnadeva Raya. When Gopa was unable to withstand the attacks of the Golconda forces, Timmarasu himself took command, defeated the Golconda army and captured its commander Madarul-Mulk.

Bijapur

The last important campaign of Sri Krishnadeva Raya was against Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur. The Bijapur Sultan demanded from Sri Krishnadeva Raya the return of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab taken by the latter in A.D. 1512. In the battle that followed the Bijapur army was completely routed. He proceeded to Gulbarga and destroyed the fort. The eldest son of Muhammad Shah was given the Bahmani Kingdom. The two other sons were taken to Vijayanagar as hostages.

Relations with the Portuguese

Sri Krishnadeva Raya maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese. In 1510 Goa became the headquarters of the Portuguese dominions in India. As a result, trade and commerce developed. The Vijayanagar ruler was able to procure Arabian horses from the Portuguese traders. The Portuguese supplied guns and other war-material to the Vijayanagar ruler to be used in the siege of Raichur. Similarly the Portuguese engineers were engaged to improve the water supply to the city of Vijayanagar.

The last days of the mighty emperor were not happy. His young son Tirumaladeva who was made the Yuvaraja of Vijayanagar in order to guarantee his succession to the throne died within eight months. Sri

Krishnadeva Raya learnt that this son was poisoned by Timma, the son of his great minister Timmarasu. Both the son and father were captured and blinded. Sri Krishnadeva Raya became very unhappy at the turn of events. He nominated his half-brother Achyuta as his successor and died towards the end of 1529. He was only 42 years old.

An Estimate

Sri Krishnadeva Raya occupies a unique place among the rulers of South India. He was a versatile genius and made his mark as a great warrior, able administrator and a liberal patron of art and literature. He has become a legend. Even children and illiterate villagers recall his exploits. The core of his empire, i.e., the five districts in the south-west of Andhra Pradesh are now known as Rayalaseema or the land of Sri Krishnadeva Raya.

As a warrior he showed his mettle against the enemies of the empire, namely the Muslim rulers of the Deccan and the Gajapathi rulers of Orissa. His wars against the Bahmini rulers revealed his military prowess and diplomatic skill. He restored the Bahmini dynasty twice in order to maintain political stability in the Deccan which was then ruled by many Muslim Princes. Similarly, his friendly relations with the Portuguese reveal his complete grasp of the realities of the Indian political situation of the 16th century A.D. His wars against the Gajapathi rulers of Orissa may be regarded as a brilliant achievement in the military history of the time.

As an administrator, he proved to be very efficient. The vast empire was divided into Mandalams, Nadus and Seemas so that even the remote villages could have the benefits of effective administration. As a patron of art and Telugu literature Sri Krishnadeva Raya was unsurpassed. His reign was the golden age of the Telugu literature and has been compared with the Periclean age of Greece and the Elizabethan age of England. Eight literary luminaries popularly known as *Ashtadiggajas* adorned his court. Among them Allasani Peddanna, the author of *Manucharitramu*, was the greatest. He was knows as *Andhra Kavita Pitamaha*. The other seven poets of the group were Nandi Timmanna, the author of *Parijatha Apaharanamu*, Maddayyagari Malanna, Dhurjati, Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra Kavi, Pingali Surana, Ramaraja Bhusana and Tenali Ramalinga. Sri Krishnadeva Raya himself was a poet of great merit. His work *Amukta Malyada* is regarded as a first rate 'prabandha' in Telugu literature. He has also patronised Sanskrit and Kannada literature.

Sir Krishnadeva Raya was a great builder. The Hazara Rama temple,

the Vittalaswami temple at the capital city are attributed to him. In honour of his mother he built a new city called Nagalapuram. In a word Sri Krishnadeva Raya ranks with the greatest emperors of Europe and Asia.

Pae's Profile of Sri Krishnadeva Raya

Domingos Paes, a Portuguese merchant who resided in Vijayanagar during the years 1520-22 has left an excellent sketch of Sri Krishnadeva Raya's personality and the splendour of Vijayanagar city. He described Sri Krishnadeva Raya thus:

> The king is of medium height and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of smallpox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking all about their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage....
>
> ...He is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things.

Achyuta Raya (1529-1542)

Sri Krishnadeva Raya was succeeded by his half brother Achyuta Raya. He was specially chosen by Sri Krishnadeva Raya himself, overlooking the claims of his infant son who was only eighteen months old. At the time of Sri Krishnadeva Raya's death, Achyuta was in Chandragiri. Rama Raya, the ambitious son-in-law of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, proclaimed the infant prince as the ruler. But his attempts to seize power was foiled by Saluva Vira Narasimha who kept the throne vacant for Achyuta till he could come up from Chandragiri. The latter reached the capital after performing two coronation ceremonies at Chandragiri and Sri Kalahasti. Before Achyuta could reach the capital Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur invaded the Raichur doab and seized Raichur and Mudgal. On reaching Vijayanagar, Achyuta came to terms with Rama Raya as the infant prince had died in the meantime. He repulsed the invasion of the Gajapati ruler of Orissa, and foiled the attempt of Quli Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golconda, to seize Kondavidu.

Saluva Vira Narasmiha did not like the understanding between Achyuta Raya and Rama Raya, so he left the capital and instigated the chieftains of Ummattur and South Travancore to revolt against the central authority. Achyuta Raya marched against the rebels with an army commanded by his brother-in-law Salakaraju Tirumala. The rebels were defeated and Saluva Vira Narasimha was taken prisoner.

On the death of of Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1534, Achyuta Raya attacked the kingdom and recovered Raichur doab. However, at home rapid developments took place. Achyuta, on returning to the capital was taken prisoner by Rama Raya with the help of 3,000 Muslim soldiers under his pay. Rama Raya proclaimed himself as the Emperor, but the nobles and the general public resented this action of Rama Raya. He therefore proclaimed Sadasiva, a nephew of Achyuta as ruler and carried on the administration in his name. This went on for some time. When a revolt broke out in the south RamaRaya had to leave the capital. During his absence, Achyuta regained his freedom and his brother in law Salakaraju Tirumala controlled the administration. At that very juncture, Ibrahim Adil Shah invaded Vijayanager and razed it to the ground. Rama Raya returned to the capital and both the Hindu princes agreed to accept the arbitration of Adil Shah. According to the settlement achyuta was to rule as king and Rama Raya was free to rule his estates without interference from the king. Ibrahim was richly rewarded for his services. The agreement was honoured till the death of Achyuta in 1542. The history of Achyuta's reign is the subject matter of a Sanskrit work called *Achyutharayabhyudayam* written by Rajanatha Dindima.

Venkata I (1542-43)

On the death of Achyutha in A.D. 1542 his son Venkata I succeeded him. As he was a minor, his uncle Salakaraju Tirumala became the regent. The Queen mother Varada Devi suspected the motives of her brother and appealed to Ibrahim Adil Shah for help. As a counter move, Rama Raya released Sadasiva from prison and proclaimed him king. He also appealed to the Bijapur king for help. Ibrahim Adil Shah marched to Vijayanagar, but he was defeated by Tirumala. Encouraged by this victory, Tirumala got Venkata I and all the members of the Royal family murdered. He began to rule like a tyrant. As his rule became intolerable, Rama Raya seized the kingdom in the name of Sadasiva. He defeated Tirumala in a number of battles and finally killed him. The coronation of Sadasiva was performed at Vijayanagar in 1543.

Sadasiva (1543-1570)

Sadasiva was only the de jure king. Real power was in the hands of Rama Raya who in the course of time assumed royal titles. Rama Raya and his brothers Tirumala and Venkatadri formed themselves into a Triumvirate and ruled like despots. They placed Sadasiva under house arrest at Penukonda. They however "went on one day every year and prostrated themselves before their lawful sovereign in token acknowledgement of his rights over them."

To make his power absolute, Rama Raya overhauled the administration. He destroyed the ancient nobility and dismissed Brahmin officials and appointed in their place his own supporters. Further, he inducted a large number of Muslims both into the army and the administration. This enabled them to gain intimate knowledge of the affairs of the State and proved to be a fatal mistake.

One of the main causes for the defeat of the Vijayanagar forces in the Battle of Talikota was the defection of the two Muslim generals from the Hindu army each commanding about 80,000 men.

Soon after Sadasiva's coronation, Rama Raya had to face many revolts in the south and restrain the Portuguese who were forcibly converting the fishermen of the west coast to Christianity and destroying the Hindu temples. He sent his cousin, Chinna Timma, to the south to re-establish the authority of Vijayanagar. He succeeded in his mission, worshipped at the shrine of Padmanabha at Tiruvananthapuram and returned to the capital leaving his brother Vittala in charge of the south.

Having put down the trouble in the south, Rama Raya pursued an active policy of interference in the affairs of the five Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan. He followed the policy of playing off one Muslim Sultan against the other. In 1543 he formed an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golconda to attack Bijapur, but the astute Bijapur minister Asad Khan frustrated the move of Rama Raya by concluding an alliance with Ahmadnagar. In 1558 Rama Raya invaded Ahmadnagar in alliance with Bijapur and Golconda. Next, he attacked Bidar and collected tribute from it. In 1563 he attacked his old ally Golconda and forced Ibrahim Qutb Shah to surrender, Kovilkonda, Ganapur and Panagal. The humiliations of Ahmadnagar and Golconda persuaded the Deccan Sultans to forget their differences and form a grand alliance against the Hindu power. Brisk preparations were made for a 'Jihad'.

The Battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi, 23rd January 1565

Rama Raya knew that a war with the Muslims was inevitable. On Vijayadasami day (15 September 1564) he told the nobles about the impending war and ordered them to keep their forces ready. The armies of the four Muslim states met together at Bijapur. The Sultan of Berar, Ali Adil Shah played a double game professing friendship towards both parties. The Muslim army crossed the Krishna river and encamped near Talikota on 26 December 1564.

Rama Raya was confident of his victory. He sent his brother Tirumala with a huge force to prevent the Muslim army from crossing the Krishna river. Soon after, another force was sent under the command of the other brother, Venkatadri. Finally Rama Raya moved on to the southern bank of the Krishna river where the Vijayanagara army assembled. In the primary engagements the Hindus were successful. Hence the Muslim resorted to a stratagem. They opened up negotiations for peace. Meanwhile they made secret negotiations with the two Muslim generals of the Vijayanagara army who commanded a force of 80,000 each. The Muslim generals agreed to betray their master.

The decisive engagement took place on Tuesday 23 January 1565. The battle was known as Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi. Rama Raya and his two brothers took part in it. Rama Raya commanded the centre and faced the forces of Hussain Nizam Shah (Ahmadnagar). The left wing commanded by Tirumala faced the Bijapur forces, while the right wing under the command of Venkatadri opposed the forces of Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Golconda. When the Hindus were about to win the battle, the two Muslim commanders of Rama Raya decided the issue in favour of their co-religionists by betraying their master. Rama Raya fell into the hands of Hussain Nizam Shah (Ahmadnagar), who immediately killed him and placed his head on a spear for the Hindu troops to see. About one lakh. Vijayanagara soldiers were killed. No attempt was made to re-organise the army and defend the capital city. The Vijayanagar camp was plundered by the Muslim soldiers carrying with them "jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums standards, maidservants, menservants and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantity that the whole army was enriched." Tirumala left the city to its fate and fled from it, carrying all the treasures of the State on one thousand five hundred and fifty elephants. He carried with him the captive emperor, Sadasiva and the women of the royal family.

The victorious Muslim army, after plundering the Hindu camp, reached Vijayanagar on the third day and began the sack of the

magnificent city. R. Sewell in his *A Forgotten Empire* describes the scene thus:

> With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc have been wrought, and wrought suddenly, on so splendid a city, teeming with prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description.

The city never recovered from the blow and still lies in splendid ruins. Tirumala returned to Penukonda and his attempts to revive the city of Vijayanagar failed. The Muslim confederacy was dissolved and the five Deccan Sultans once again began to fight each other. This gave an opportunity to Tirumala to regain the kingdom. The Nayaks of Madurai, Tanjore and Gingee became practically independent of Vijayanagar. The Vodayars of Mysore and the Nayaks of Vellore and Keladi, however, accepted the suzereinty of Vijayanagar. Tirumala divided the empire into three linguistic areas and placed his three sons as viceroys over them. The eldest son, Sriranga, governed the Telugu area with Penukonda as capital.

The Kannada area was controlled by the second son, Rama, with Srirangapattana as capital. The Tamil area was administered from Chandragiri by the third son, Venkatapathi. In 1570, Tirumala set aside the nominal rule of Sadasiva Raya and became the *de jure* ruler. Thus began the rule of the Aravidu dynasty, the fourth and last dynasty of Vijayanagar.

The Aravidu Dynasty (A.D.1570-1675)

The dynasty founded by Tirumala came to be known as Aravidu since Rama Raya and his brother, Tirumala and Venkatadri were the grandsons of Araviti Bukka.

Tirumala (1570-1572)

After dividing the empire into three linguistic zones and appointing his sons as governors, Tirumala retired from active politics in 1572. He lived for another six years. He renovated the temples at Tirupati, Kanchi and Srirangam. Bhattumurti (Ramarajabhusana) dedicated his work *Vasucharitramu* to Tirumala.

Sriranga I (1572-1585)

During his rule of about thirteen years, Sriranga I had to face invasions from his Muslim neighbours. In 1576 Ali Shah of Bijapur laid siege to Penugonda. The Hande chief of Anantapur, Timma Nayaka, helped him. Sriranga I retired to Chandragiri leaving the defence of Penukonda in the hands of his able general Savaram Chennappa. Sriranga I appealed to Ibrahim Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golconda, for help. Chennappa was able to defeat the Bijapur Sultan on 21 December 1576. The Golconda Sultan attacked the Vijayanagar kingdom in 1579 and plundered the rich temple of Narasimha at Ahobhilam. Sriranga I did not receive any help from his brother. Kondavidu was lost to Golconda in 1580. Sriranga I managed to recapture Ahobilam. He died in 1585 without an issue and was succeeded by his brother Venkata II, the governor of Chandragiri.

Venkata II (1585-1614)

Venkata II's rule of twenty-eight years was the only silver lining in the one century long dark history of the Aravidu dynasty. Like his predecessors, Venkata II was tormented by the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golconda attacked the Vijayanagara kingdom and occupied the whole of Kurnool district and parts of Cuddapah and Anantapur districts. Venkata II assembled his chiefs and reoccupied Gutti. Another Golconda army led by Rustum Khan was defeated and Gandikota fell into the hands of Venkata II. Udayagiri and other places up to the Krishna river were taken. Venkata could not proceed to Golconda due to internal troubles. In Kolar Tamayya Gouda rebelled. Krishnama Raya and other chiefs at Nandyal defied the authority of Venkata II. Krishnama was defeated at Jammalamadugu and thrown into prison at Chandragiri. Other rebels like Kandanavolu Gopala Raju were also punished. Similarly, the revolts in Tamil Nadu at Vellore, Chengalput were put down with the help of Yachama Nayudu.

Venkata II made Chandragiri his capital and re-organised the revenue administration. During the reign of Venkata II, the Dutch and the English began to establish their factories on the East Coast. In 1610 Venkata II allowed the Dutch to open a factory at Pulicat and granted them many previlages of trade. Earlier, i.e., in 1605 they opened factories at Machilipatnam and Nizampatnam in the Golconda kingdom.

Venkata II died in 1614. As he had no children his nephew Sriranga II was nominated as successor.

The Civil War

Venkata II had no son though he married six times. His favourite wife perpectuated a fraud. She borrowed a son of her maid and called him her son. The putative 'son' caused much havoc to the kingdom. As noted earlier, Venkata II nominated, before his death Sriranga II, his nephew, as successor. The nobles of the court were alienated by Sriranga II who demanded from them large sums of money and jewels. The rebels were divided into two camps. One group called the Son's party was headed by Gobburi Jagga Raya, the brother of Venkata's favourite queen and the "mother" of the putative son. Sriranga II was supported by Velugoti Yachama Nayaka. Sriranga II was murdered within four months of his accession by Jagga Raya. The murder created great horror in the kingdom and Jagga Raya was universally hated. Taking advantage of the popular sympathy for Ramadeva, the sole survivor of Sriranga II's family, Yachama Nayaka proclaimed him emperor. This led to a long drawn out civil war in which the whole empire participated. A decisive battle took place at Topur near Tiruchirapalli in 1616 where Jagga Raya was defeated and killed. Yachama's victory was complete. The putative son died in 1619. The war was carried on by Ethiraja, the brother of Jaggaraya. Finally, a reconciliation was brought about between Ramadeva and Ethiraja. The former married the daughter of the latter. Ramadeva was recognised as king with Yachama as regent.

The civil war which lasted for about fifteen years provided an opportunity for Bijapur to capture Kurnool in 1624. Ramadeva died in 1630 at the age of twenty-eight. As he had no son or brother, Ramadeva nominated Peda Venkata, a grandson of the famous Rama Raya to succeed to the throne. But Venkata III was troubled by the revolts of his nephew Sriranga, who invoked help from Bijapur. The Muslims invaded the south in 1638 and 1641 and appeared before Vellore. This was followed by the invasion of the Sultan of Golconda. Venkata III took shelter in the jungles near Narayanavaram of Chittoor district where he died in 1642.

Sriranga III (1642-1675)

Venkata III had no child. He was succeeded by his treacherous nephew Sriranga III. He was the last Raya of Vijayanagar. His sovereignty was not acknowledged by the Nayaks of the south who under the leadership of Tirumala Nayaka of Madura appealed to Bijapur for help. In 1646 Sriranga III was defeated by the Bijapur army near Vellore. Jingi fell to

the Bijapur forces. Mir Jumla the Golconda general occupied parts of Cuddapah and all the territory in the east coast up to Pulicat. In 1649, Tanjore came under the control of Bijapur. Sriranga III was left without a kingdom. He proceesed to Mysore and led a miserable life at Bellur till his death in 1675. With him perished the Aravidu dynasty and the Vijayanagara kingdom.

Administration

The King and the Court

The Vijayanagara empire was in theory a hereditary monarchy, but in practice the law of primogenature was not followed. Due to the military exigencies of the time which were a result of the hostility of the Muslim States of the Deccan, there were frequent changes in the dynasty in order to enable the strongest man to sit on the throne. Weak kings were either dethroned or imprisoned. The king was the most powerful man in the State and fountainhead of all civil, military and judicial authority.

The king was advised by a council of ministers appointed by him. Even the most powerful minister like Sluva Timma held office at the pleasure of the king.

Taxation

The Central government was divided into a number of departments under the control of a hierarchy of officials. The main income of the government was land revenue. Lands were carefully surveyed and assessed according to their quality. Besides land tax, there were other taxes like house tax, professional tax, etc. The income from the tax on the prostitutes was very high and it covered the expenditure of the police department of Vijayanagar city. The main items of expenditure were the upkeep of the palace, army and charitable endowments.

Army

The Vijayanagara army was always in a state of alert. The army consisted of an elephant corps, cavalry, infantry and artillery. This last division was manned by foreigners like the Portuguese and Muslims. Besides the standing army of the emperor, the governors of different provinces maintained their own forces ever ready to join the imperial forces in war. There were regular military schools to train the soldiers in archery and swordsmanship. The commander-in-chief was called the Dandanayaka. Importance was given to cavalry and horses of good

breed were imported from Arabia. In the defence, forts played an important part and their upkeep was given due importance.

Local Government

The Vijayanagar rulers continued the traditional system of Village Panchayats. There was only one city Vijayanagar, which was well fortified. According to Abdur Razzack "The city is such that eye has not seen nor ever heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth." Paes considered that Vijayanagar was as large as Rome. He felt that it "is the best provided city in the world, and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, which are the food of the people, and there is a large store of these and very cheap.... The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count."

Justice

Justice was administered according to traditions based on 'smriti' of Yajnavalka, Parasara and other sages.The king was the Supreme judge and heard the final appeal. Punishments were severe including mutilation, impalement and being thrown to the elephants. Trial by ordeal was known. As a result, thefts and crimes were rare.

Society

The nobles led a luxurious life, but the life of common people was not harsh. Navaratri, Deepavali and Holi were popular festivals. Women enjoyed a respectable position in society and followed many occupations including even wrestling and accountancy. Kings and nobles married many wives and kept concubines to show their exalted position in society. 'Sati' and child marriage were recognised and freely practised.

The Rayas of Vijayanagar addressed themselves to upholding the Hindu way of life. They succeeded in preserving Hindu culture and religion from the onslaught of Islam for about three hundred years. Besides, they encouraged Sanskrit and local languages like Telugu, Kannada and Tamil. Finally, the Vijayanagara rulers preserved the Hindu temples and developed their architecture. According to Longhurst, the Hazara Rama temple at Hampi is "one of the most perfect specimens of Hindu temple architecture in existence."

Foreign Descriptions of Vijayanagar

There are many important and interesting foreign references to Vijayanagar which throw considerable light on the political, social and economic condition of the period. The earliest European visitor to Vijayanagar was an Italian traveller from Venice called Nicolo Conti who stayed in the city from 1420 to 1421 during the reign of Devaraya I. He recorded his experiences in Latin which was subsequently translated into Portuguese and Italian. He describes the life at the Court of Vijayanagar and also the social life of the city.

Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador to the Court of Zamorin of Calicut visited Vijayanagar in 1443 during the reign of Devaraya II. He witnessed the Mahanavami festival. He describes the extent of the empire, its revenues, administration and also the social and economic life of the people.

Another Italian traveller Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna who travelled in India during the years 1502-1508 left an interesting and valuable account of the Vijayanagar empire and its capital.

Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese official in India who spoke Malayalam 'better than the natives of the country' left an account of India which includes a full description of Vijayanagar. Domingos Paes, a Portuguese merchant who stayed in Vijayanagar during the years 1520-22 in the reign of Sri Krishnadeva Raya gives a pen portrait of the emperor and the splendour of his court.

Fernao Nuniz, a horse dealer from Portugal stayed for three years (1533-37) in Vijayanagar during the reign of Achyuta Raya. He records its history from the beginning and describes its administration and the social conditions. The letters of Father Barradas (December 1616) give an account of the origin and the course of the civil war during the reign of Sriranga II. Other foreigners who made references to Vijayanagar include Caesar Frederick who visited India two years after the battle of Talikota (1565), Ralph Fitch who stayed in India during the years 1583-91 and the Dutch traveller John Huighen Van Linschoten.

THE QUTB SHAHIS OF GOLCONDA

The disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom in A.D. 1526 resulted in the formation of five new Sultanates. They were: (1)Berar, ruled by the Imad Shahi dynasty (1490-1574), (2)Ahmadnagar ruled by the Nizam Shahi dynasty (1490-1637), (3)Bijapur, ruled by the Adil Shahi dynasty (1490-1686), (4)Bidar, ruled by the Barid Shahi dynasty (1526-1619) and (5)Golconda ruled by the Qutb Shahi dynasty (1512-1687).

Qutb Shahi hailed from the Turkoman tribe of Armenia. A member of the tribe Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk came to Delhi, along with some members of his family and friends, sometime during the sixteenth century. From Delhi Quli Qutb migrated to the Deccan and took service under the Bahmanis. Very soon he became the 'Tarfdar' or governor of Telangana with Golconda as the capital. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Bahmani kingdom following the death of its ruler Muhammad III Quli Qutb asserted his independence under the title of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah.

Qutb Shah (1512-43)

Qutb Shah was the contemporary of Srikrishnadeva Raya (1509-1529) and Achyuta Raya (1530-1542). He strengthened the Golconda fort which was renamed Muhammadnagar. He conquered the forts of Rachakonda and Devarkonda in the Nalgonda district. He came into conflict with Shitab Khan (Sitapati) a petty chief, who had occupied Warangal in 1504. After the death of Srikrishnadeva Raya in 1529, Shitab Khan occupied Khammam, Kondapalli and Bellamkonda. Qutb Shah recaptured these forts and proceeded upto Rajahmundry. He came to an understanding with the Gajapatis of Orissa fixing Godavari as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

Qutb Shah was a Shia and lived up to the age of 98 years. He was murdered at the instance of his son Jamshid.

Jamshid (1543-1550)

Jamshid who ruled for seven years was engaged in a number of wars with Bijapur. He was not on good terms with his brother, Ibrahim, who took shelter in the Vijayanagara kingdom ruled by Rama Raya. Jamshid died in 1550 leaving the throne to his infant son, Subhan, who was deposed by his uncle Ibrahim.

Ibrahim (1550-1580)

Ibrahim ruled for thirty years. In the beginning he had friendly relations with Rama Raya who allowed him to take shelter in Vijayanagar to escape the wrath of his brother, Jamshid. Rama Raya helped Ibrahim to get the throne of Golconda. However, in course of time the two became inveterate enemies as their interests clashed on a number of issues. Ibrahim had to purchase peace with Vijayanagar by surrendering the forts of Kovilakonda, Ghanapur and Panagal in 1563. He determined to destroy Vijayanagara kingdom which had given him shelter when he was persecuted by his brother. To strengthen his position he married the daughter of Hussain Nizam Shah I of Ahmad nagar which had also suffered repeated humiliations at the hands of Rama Raya. Soon after the marriage, preparations were made for Jihad against the Hindu kingdom. In the Battle of Talikota, Vijayanagar was defeated.

In 1579 Ibrahim invaded the truncated Vijayanagar empire and captured the forts of Vinukonda, Kondavidu and Udayagiri. He died in May 1580. It was during his reign that Warangal was permanently annexed to the Golconda Sultanate.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612)

Muhammad Quli Qutb shah was the founder of the city of Hyderabad. In 1589 he built the new city 10 miles east of Golconda. Originally he wanted to extend Golconda westward, but lack of water forced him to construct the new city on the eastern bank of the river Musi. The important land mark of the new city is the Char Minar constructed in the year 1591-92. It is the most majestic building of the city. Square in plan, each side measures 60 feet. The four minarets are 80 feet in height from the plinth. The new city was named Bhagyanagar. There is a controversy about the origin of the name. Some contend that the city was named after Bhagyamati, a Hindu mistress of the Sultan. This view is opposed by some other authorities who state that Feristha referred

to Bhagyamati contemptuously as an 'old prostitute'. According to them, the new city was called Baghnagar meaning the city of gardens. Subsequently, the city was renamed Hyderabad.

Abdulla Qutb Shah (1626-1672)

During the rule of Abdulla, the Golconda kingdom was forced to accept the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan in 1635. A year before this event, i.e., in 1634, Abdulla issued the Golden Firman granting trade privileges to the English East India Company on the Andhra coast. The prime minister, Mir Jumla, proved to be a very treacherous man. He entered into secret parleys with Aurangazeb, the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan. As a result, Aurangazeb invaded Golconda in 1655 and plundered the city of Hyderabad. Abdulla made peace with Aurangzeb by paying a huge indemnity. Abdulla was succeeded by his nephew Abul Hasan Tana Shah in 1672.

Abul Hasan (Tana Shah) (1672-1687)

The Prime Minister of Abul Hasan was Akkanna, a Vaishnava Brahmin. Madanna, the brother of Akkana was the commander-in-chief of the army. In February 1677, Abul Hasan entered into an alliance with Shivaji against Aurangzeb. On 7 March 1677, Shivaji visited Hyderabad and was entertained lavishly by Tana Shah. Aurangzeb was incensed by these acts. So, he attacked Golconda in 1687. Akkanna and Madanna were murdered by fanatic Muslims. The Golconda fort was gallantly defended by Abdur Razzak. Even after seven months of siege, Aurangzeb could not take it. Finally, by taking recourse to bribery he entered the fort. Abdur Razzak fought bravely and refused to serve under Aurangzeb. Tana Shah was captured and imprisoned at Daulatabad. The fall of the Golconda fort in October 1687 marked the end of the Qutb Shahi dynasty. Golconda was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

The nephew of Akkanna and Madanna was Kancharla Gopanna, the Tahsildar of Bhadrachalam. Gopanna afterwards became famous as Ramadasu (slave of Rama). He misappropriated about Rs.6 lakhs from the Government treasury to construct a temple for Sri Rama at Bhadrachalam. For this, he was imprisoned at Golconda fort. According to popular belief, Sri Rama and Lakshmana appeared before Tana Shah and returned the money.

Mughal Conquest of the Deccan

After the battle of Talikota (25 January 1565) the Sultans of the Deccan once again reverted to their old game of internecine warfare. Taking advantage of this disunity the Mughal Emperor Akbar tried to extend his suzerainty over the Deccan. He first turned his attention towards Ahmadnagar which was besieged in 1595. The city was defended with great courage by the Dowager Queen Chand Bibi, but was forced to accept the Mughal suzerainty and cede Berar. The kingdom was attacked for the second time in 1600, but it was annexed only during the reign of Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahan did not like the Shia States of Golconda and Bijapur. In 1636 he marched to the Deccan, preparing to attack these States. The Qutb Shah ruler of Golconda, Abdulla, acknowledged the suzerainty of Shah Jahan and agreed to pay annual tribute. Aurangzeb was appointed as the Viceroy of the Deccan. The Mughal area in the Deccan then consisted of Khandesh, Berar, Daulatabad and part of Telengana. Aurangzeb returned to Agra in 1644. In 1653 Aurangzeb came to the Deccan for the second time as Viceroy and stayed for four years.

The Fall of Golconda

In 1682 Aurangzeb came to the Deccan as emperor to crush the Maratha power and also the Shia kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. The kingdom of Bijapur was conquered in 1686. The siege of Golconda commenced on 28 June 1685. The king of Golconda, Abul Hasan Tana Shah defended the fort bravely for eight months. Ultimately Aurangzeb by means of bribery succeeded in capturing Golconda in October 1687. After the fall of Golconda, Aurangzeb carried on the war against the Marathas for 20 years, but could not succeed against them. He died at Ahmadnagar on 20 February 1707.

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P.R. Rao

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